



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 120 810 135

STANFORD LIBRARIES

Beals, C.E.

The higher soldiership.

JX1963
B366



STANFORD LIBRARIES

HOOVER INSTITUTION
on War, Revolution, and Peace

FOUNDED BY HERBERT HOOVER, 1919





195

THE HIGHER SOLDIERSHIP

CHARLES E. BEALS



STANFORD MEYER
LIBRARY



THE HIGHER SOLDIERSHIP

BY

CHARLES E. BEALS

//

PUBLISHED BY

THE CHICAGO PEACE SOCIETY

30 NORTH LA SALLE STREET

CHICAGO

Ta

THE CHICAGO PEACE SOCIETY

366

31604

Copyright, 1912
CHARLES E. BEALS

Printed by
Ernest Morehouse
711 So. Dearborn Street
Chicago

YRABLL BILSON BBT

"The higher soldiership of the higher battles."—*Phillips Brooks*.

"War a good warfare."—*1 Tim. 1:18*.

"Endure hardness as a good soldier."—*2 Tim. 2:3*.

"Whose I am and whom I serve."—*Acts 27:23*.

"I was ever a fighter."—*Robert Browning*.

"Isn't it jolly to be a mounted soldier in the service of the Lord?"—*General Samuel Chapman Armstrong*.

"Jolly good fun."—*Dr. W. T. Grenfell*.

"Servant of God, well done; well hast thou fought
The better fight."—*Milton*.

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION—THE PROBLEM	7
1. Religion too warlike and not warlike enough	7
2. Two things desirable	8
3. Harnessing the war giant	8
I—THE WAR HABIT	10
1. Man a fighter	10
2. The danger of the war habit breaking out in war	11
3. The fallacy of gun philosophy	11
II—A WORTHY SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR NEEDED	16
1. Internationalism already begun	16
2. War enginery an anachronism to-day	17
3. Wanted—a substitute for war and a useful outlet for the war spirit	18
4. Loyalty the all-inclusive soldier virtue	19
III—SOME SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR	20
1. Industrialism suggested by Carlyle and Ruskin	20
2. Miss Addams's more comprehensive suggestion	21
3. Religion the worthiest substitute for war and the best outlet for the war spirit	21
IV—THE IDEA OF A HIGHER SOLDIERSHIP IN HAR- MONY WITH HUMAN EXPERIENCE	22
1. The idea an old one	22
2. The idea understood by all	30
3. The martial note in great hymns	30
4. Biography and the military type	32
5. Religion set forth in terms of personal relation	35
6. Soldierly religion in harmony with the spirit of the times	35
7. Organized evil makes necessary a militant and organized righteousness	37
8. The soldier's life full of useful and stimulating illustra- tions	38
9. The demand for heroes perpetual	40
10. Certain great movements prophetic of a substitution of religion for war	42
11. The higher soldiership in poetry	47
12. The prophecy of science	50
V—FIGHTING LIKE A GOD	54
1. The new soldiery	54
2. The <i>good</i> fight	55

THE HIGHER SOLDIERSHIP

"Fight the *good* fight."—1 Tim. 6:12.

INTRODUCTION—THE PROBLEM.

Given a universe in which the chief activities of man (the highest creature and the highest known product of the cosmic process) seem to be summed up in war-preparedness, *Problem*—to find whether such a universe is rational and moral, or irrational and immoral, or non-moral; and, if said universe is proved or assumed to be rational and moral, then to account for the evolution of the war system, or to discover some higher warfare to which the present war system shall be but a prelude and for which the present war habit shall be but a preparation.

1. *Religion too warlike and not warlike enough.*

Religion is too warlike and religion is not warlike enough. Up to the present, the most noticeable product of evolution is a group of some half hundred nationalities, bankrupting themselves for the maintenance of rival man-killing establishments. If this were to be the ultimate goal of cosmic activities, better that creation never had occurred than that its grist should be a race of scientific fratricides.

Strange to tell, alongside, or in the very heart, of these mail-clad nationalities, religions flourish. The war system could exist not for one day without the sufferance of religious people. Obviously, religion is too warlike, too fond, or too tolerant, of the man-killing business. From Constantine's day down to the Peace of Westphalia, the bitterest, longest and most devastating wars of all the centuries were religious wars. The Christian church never hesitated to buckle on sword and spurs for a dogma or for the extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Religious wars, happily, are now a thing of the past. But even now religion is called upon to bless the colors of regiments marching forth to kill, and called on to offer patriotic prayers for victory when once the fray is on. Instead of jealously exercising its function as peacemaker, and seeking the realization of the

peacemaker's beatitude proclaimed by the "Prince of Peace," religion even now is too warlike, too willing to sanction man-killing, too ready to slay.

On the other hand, religion is not warlike enough. It is too unwilling to exercise the second soldier function, namely, being wounded or killed. One great religion—Christianity—has for its symbol the death emblem—a cross. But how much of the martyr spirit is found in its professors? Is not ethical invertebrateness too characteristic of the institutional and individual religion of to-day? Do the people who talk most about the cross best incarnate and exemplify the spirit of Calvary's middle cross? Religion, in this sense, we repeat, is too unwarlike. Of unbloody militancy there is an almost universal lack. Of an unkillng ready-to-dieness there is altogether too little.

2. *Two things desirable.*

The world would be a far more comfortable home for man, and human progress would be incalculably accelerated, if two things could be done; namely, first, if the present over-pressure of war spirit which prevails throughout the entire world could be relieved without blood-letting; and, secondly, if religion could be toned up in ethical loyalty and heroic self-devotedness by an infusion of the soldier spirit and soldier virtues into the lives of the professedly religious. Both of these desirable results, I believe, can be attained by the spiritualizing of war.

Please note that I do not say that men should stop struggling. Struggle is the price of progress. Mr. Darwin ranks struggle for life as the supreme factor in evolution.¹ To stop struggling is to stop growing. It would indeed be a pity to lose the "fighting edge."²

3. *Harnessing the War Giant.*

"How the Giant Was Caught and Set to Work" was the title of a story in the reading-books of a generation ago.³ The story was an account of Benjamin Franklin's experiment with the kite, and the subsequent harnessing of electricity to do useful work in the world. Thus a force which, unharnessed, was dangerous and dreadful, became, when put to work, a tireless, faithful, wonder-working servant of man. Wanted—a new Franklin to harness the modern war giant, which, Colossus-like,

¹Drummond: *Evolution of Man*, 166, 169.

²Theodore Roosevelt.

³By T. S. Arthur; see *Monroe's Fifth Reader*, 169.

bestrides two hemispheres, swallows down the world's resources, and, like Jove, threatens to let fly his fateful lightnings without a moment's warning.

Dr. David Jayne Hill, in the closing paragraph of his admirable little volume, *World Organization and the Modern State*, tells us that "if we may estimate the future by the transformations of the last three hundred years, we may reasonably entertain the hope that the energies of mankind may be more and more diverted from plans and preparations for mutual destruction, and devoted to united helpfulness in overcoming vice, misery, disease and ignorance—the common enemies of mankind."⁴ If this be true then certainly the time now has come for us to spiritualize our fighting.

Admitting that all sorts of blessings, perhaps, may have come from war, yet not forgetting all the ills that these blessings have cost, is not the waging of a higher kind of warfare the best use we can make of the war spirit? Is it not possible for rational, moral beings to transform war from a physical strife, from a wasteful, cruel struggle, into a moral, constructive, altruistic, noble and ennobling warfare? From gory, unbrotherly, brute strife, which perhaps may be legitimate for wild beasts and jungle men, civilized nations should now turn to struggles worthy of ethical, socialized men, worthy of our times, our knowledge, our moral outlook. Fight on, ever fight, but, henceforth, "fight the *good* fight." This is the world's chief task and opportunity just now, —to gather up all the warrior spirit which has been generated through the cumulative inheritance from unnumbered generations of fighting ancestors, and to provide a bloodless outlet for the war spirit by applying it to the living of a truly religious life; or, adhering to the figure of the giant, to harness the burly war giant to serve man's highest needs. Thus, like a spring freshet which has been harnessed to do useful work, the war instinct may be turned to good advantage if exercised in a new direction, that is to say, if harnessed to fighting evil instead of to the killing of fellow humans. In the future, the gun man will rank with the hangman of former days, or, at best, no higher than the policeman. The real fighting will be done by men of the spirit of Heine, "a soldier in the liberation war of humanity."⁵ The battle will consist not in blood shedding, but in overcoming

⁴Hill: *World Organization and the Modern State*, 201.

⁵Spargo: *Karl Marx*, 78.

all sorts of evils with a religion energized with a new strenuousness, a religion daringly ethical, a religion undyingly loyal and chivalrously self-sacrificing. This is the dream, the two-fold object of our study, to drain off the war spirit into soldierly religious living.

And now let us consider our task a little more in detail, in order that we may underrate neither its magnitude nor its difficulty.

I—THE WAR HABIT.

1. *Man a fighter.*

If we may believe genial "Bob" Burdette, men are "the fightingest things in the world."⁶ But we must remember that it is because man is a good fighter that he is here at all. Had he not been, he would have fallen prey to a thousand foes. He had to fight to live. He was forced to fight with animals larger and stronger than himself. Nor were his foes solely non-human. Man fought man, tribe battled against tribe, for food and pasturage, for women, for the capture or defense of children, for the love of excitement, for the sheer joy of triumphing?⁷

In time nations were evolved, and nation became pitted against nation. Since Napoleon over-ran Europe, immense armies have been maintained even in times of peace. Of late in both hemispheres there has been going on a desperate race in rival naval arming. *Dreadnaughts* and *super-Dreadnaughts* have been multiplied in a frenzy of self-preservation which is utterly reckless of the economic future. Never before has the world seen such a spectacle of military and naval paraphernalia as the nations maintain to-day. The British Prime Minister estimates that the "civilized" nations are expending between two and two and one-half billions of dollars annually for war purposes.⁸ The United States, during its existence as a nation, has devoted over seventeen billions of dollars to war, as over against five billions to all other purposes.⁹ And a former chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of our national House of Representatives told us, not long ago, that the United States even now is paying

⁶*Proceedings of the Second National Peace Congress, Chicago, 1909, 58.*

⁷Compare William James: *The Moral Equivalent of War*, 4; Pamphlet No. 27, published by the Association for International Conciliation.

⁸*Report of XVII Universal Peace Congress, London, 1908, 210.*

⁹*Report of the Massachusetts Commission on the High Cost of Living.*

72% of its revenues for wars past or possible.¹⁰ In an economic age like ours, when we are more and more coming to think of non-productive spending as immoral, the very fact that such appropriations of the people's money can be secured for war purposes, only goes to show how strong is the fighting instinct which we have inherited.

2. *The danger of the war spirit breaking out in war.*

Nor is the economic menace the only one. History shows that it is the military nations which have been embroiled in wars. For history reveals the fallacy of the maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," which, Dr. Hale used to say, did not originate with George Washington but with an "old hog" (the boar in Aesop's fable). Certainly war preparations breed national fears, suspicions, jealousies. Queen Alexandra said a few years ago, "I have always mistrusted warlike preparations of which nations never seem to tire. Some day this accumulated material . . . will burst into flames."¹¹ And Mr. Asquith has uttered equally solemn words: "These things are intended to be used. They . . . do not exist for ornament and display. . . . At some moment, by the sudden outburst . . . of an accidental fit of passion or temper, they will be let loose upon the world."¹² Herein lies the danger, and herein also consists the desirability of draining off some of the existing war spirit through some unbloody channel, in order to relieve the pressure which has now reached the danger point.

3. *The fallacy of gun philosophy.*

So firmly has the war habit fastened itself upon the race, that we often are assured by some of our ablest thinkers that the cessation of war is both impossible and undesirable. Jeremiah Mason, the eminent New England lawyer of a former generation, once wrote to Charles Sumner: "An Anti-War Society is as little practicable as an Anti-Thunder and Lightning Society."¹³

Many minor arguments are advanced in favor of war. Some of our sociologists are so ready to point out that war is a blessing because it mixes the races, sharpens the wits, breaks up the crust of custom and spreads the ideas of civilization, that

¹⁰*Congressional Record*, June 14 1909, Speech of Hon. James A. Tawney.

¹¹*Advocate of Peace*, 1905, 99.

¹²*Report of XVII Universal Peace Congress*, London, 1908, 210.

¹³Sumner: *Addresses on War*, 142.

they almost appear as advocates of war.¹⁴ Granting that all this may have been done by war, and that without war primitive peoples could not have been brought to take the steps necessary for progress; granting that war was useful once, in earlier and lower stages of human development; the question for us is, whether it is useful and necessary any longer.¹⁵ We have entered upon a new day in world life. As Colonel Higginson says: "Now the pursuits of peace are recognized as the real, and war as the accidental."¹⁶ In this age of ocean cables and wireless telegraphy, quick steamboats, railroads, immigration and newspapers, we no longer need war to mix the peoples. Dr. Hirsch pertinently asks: "Is it necessary to-day that armies shall meet in order that the man from the West shall touch elbows with the man from the East? Is it necessary in these days that fleets shall sail out and meet with hostile intent upon the high seas when the peaceful wonder-palaces that are afloat plow the ocean and bring the greeting of the rising sun to the lands lying under the sun's western good-night kiss? I ask, is it necessary that navies shall go and speak of the power and the might and the civilization of a nation in these days when the public prints have made it unnecessary, and when wireless telegraphy carries across the distance the news of the busy toil and the power and strength of the nation? . . . In these days war for the purpose of bringing men together is antiquated. We have discovered other means of building bridges across the sea and passages over the dividing mountains."¹⁷

Then there is the plea that war is necessary for justice. This argument is well formulated in the words with which Rudolph von Ihering commences his famous book which was published in German in 1872 and since has been translated into foreign languages twenty-one times: "The end of justice is peace, the means for attaining it is conflict. So long as justice is attacked by injustice, . . . so long will justice not be exempt from conflict. . . . All the justice in the world has been obtained by struggle; every important rule of right has had to be wrung from those who have opposed it; and every right, that of a people as well as that of an individual, presupposes the constant

¹⁴Comp. Ward: *Pure Sociology*, 235-238; Jenks: *History of Politics*, 79; Morris: *Popular Science Monthly*, XLVII, 826-831; all quo. in Ross: *Social Psychology*, 245-250.

¹⁵Comp. *Report of Second Universal Peace Congress*, London, 1890, 85.

¹⁶Col. T. W. Higginson: *Atlantic Essays, Letter to Young Contributor*, 90.

¹⁷*Proceedings Second National Peace Congress*, Chicago, 1909, 63-64.

state of preparation to assert it.”¹⁸ Now that there is a Hague court in operation, rendering satisfactory decisions, justice is more apt to be obtained by appealing to The Hague than by an appeal to arms. To refuse to submit a controversy to the court casts suspicion upon the justice of the case. Moreover, it is more probable that acts of international injustice will result from strongly armed nations appealing to force, than that equity will be vindicated.

But the objection to the abolition of the war system is put forward to-day chiefly under two forms. The first is the biological. It is argued that war is the law of all life. Young Francis Parkman, on the Oregon Trail, one day wearied of studying the Ogillallah tongue, and throws himself down beside a deep, clear pool, in which a shoal of fishes, of about a pin's length, are swimming. At first sight they appear to be sporting amicably. But let Parkman tell the story. “On closer observation,” he says, “I saw that they were engaged in cannibal warfare among themselves. Now and then one of the smallest would fall a victim, and immediately disappear down the maw of his conqueror. . . . ‘Soft-hearted philanthropists,’ thought I, ‘may sigh long for their peaceful millennium; for, from minnows to men, life is incessant war!’”¹⁹ Not a few, to this day, hold this view as a working philosophy of life. Charles Richet, the famous French pacifist, thus justly presents the biological argument of the gun philosopher: “War is a biological phenomenon against which neither our wills nor our efforts have any power. There is a perpetual struggle going on among all living creatures; there must be, in the same way, a struggle among men. The theory of the necessity of war is a scientific theory, for war is the very law of life.”²⁰ In other words, since science shows that through all forms of physical life, from lowest to highest, incessant warfare is being waged, therefore it is inferred that “the basic principle of life is enmity.”²¹ We are to consider, a little later in our study, what science has to say on this biological question. Suffice it to remark at this time, therefore, that later science has very very greatly modified the earlier doctrines of struggle for exist-

¹⁸Ihering: *Der Kampf ums Recht*, Vienna, 1906, quoted in Hill: *World Organization and Modern State*, 151.

¹⁹Parkman: *Oregon Trail*, 270.

²⁰Quo. in Richet: *Peace and War*, pp. 60-61, translated from the French by Marian Edwards, and published by J. M. Dent & Co., 29-30 Bedford Street, London, 1906.

²¹Comp. Dr. William Hanna Thompson: *The Nature of Physical Life*, in *Everybody's Magazine*, Dec., 1909, 832.

ence, and survival of the fittest. A single quotation from Prof. Shaler may be offered: "Whoever would mitigate the supreme evil of untimely death, whoever would give to this naturally glad world a chance to win its happiness, cannot do better service than to contend against war."²² No scientist, perhaps, has so unanswerably and eloquently refuted the crude pseudo-science of the gun philosophers as Starr Jordan in his delightful little volume, *The Human Harvest*.

The other form that the gun philosopher's plea takes is the moral. I do not refer to such mild arguments as that advanced by Dr. Paley, who devoted a chapter in his famous *Moral Philosophy* to "War and Military Establishments," in which he justified war.²³ But I mean the modern fallacy, which is advanced with almost religious fervor, that war is the very vital atmosphere of moral virtue, and that if war ceased, altruism would die out. Machiavelli, of whom Macaulay said that "out of his surname they have coined an epithet for a knave, and out of his Christian name a synonym for the Devil,"²⁴ held that wars were necessary as a national tonic; peace . . . disruptive and enervating."²⁵ In 1840, Sismondi argued that not only did nations deteriorate in times of peace, but that protracted peace meant the sure decay of the domestic virtues.²⁶ Professor Blackie, of Edinburgh, full of "red blood," asked: "Was not every national war full of blazing virtues, before which the shopkeeper's peaceful virtues were apt to hide their diminished heads and burn very pale?"²⁷ John Ruskin's *Crown of Wild Olives*, which Dr. Walter Walsh calls "the noblest of human pleas for the greatest of human follies,"²⁸ contains a lecture on "War," which was delivered before the cadets in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1865. In this lamentable lecture, Ruskin glorified war, telling the young soldiers that art could flourish only in warlike nations; that agriculture, commerce, manufacture and the other peaceful occupations were fatal to art.²⁹

In 1880, Von Moltke wrote to Prof. Bluntschli: "Eternal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream; and war is a component part in the fixed order of the universe, established by

²²Shaler: *The Individual*, 287.

²³See Dymond on War, Grimke edition, 75 ff.

²⁴Macaulay: *On Machiavelli*, Crit., Hist. and Misc. Essays, I, 196.

²⁵Cambridge Modern History, I, 205.

²⁶Sismondi: *Histoire des républiques italiennes*, Paris, 1840, II, 172; quo. in Novicow; *War and Its Alleged Benefits*, 7-8.

²⁷See Stokes: *British War History*, 208-9, note.

²⁸Walsh: *Moral Damage of War*, 41.

²⁹Ruskin: *Crown of Wild Olives*, 110.

God himself. It develops man's noblest virtues of courage and renunciation, faithfulness to duty and readiness for sacrifice. Were it not for war, the world would become bemired in materialism."⁸⁰ This argument has been rolled like a sweet morsel under the tongue by militarists. In one form or another they never tire of reiterating that in no other way than by the battle and the march can valor, self-discipline and self-sacrifice be adequately developed. Whatever losses may be incurred are well worth such moral benefit.⁸¹ Ernest Renan exhorted his contemporaries not to give up war. "Let us cling with love to our custom of fighting from time to time, because war is the necessary occasion and place for manifesting moral force."⁸² G. Valbert argues thus: "If the philanthropists were to succeed in suppressing war, they would, with the best intentions in the world, be rendering but a poor service to mankind. They would by no means be working for the ennoblement of our race. Unending peace would plunge the nations into dangerous lethargy."⁸³ Melchior de Vogue is even more emphatic: "The certainty of peace . . . would, before the expiration of half a century, engender a state of corruption and decadence more destructive of men than the worst wars."⁸⁴ Max Jahns sounds the same note: "War regenerates corrupted peoples, it awakens dormant nations, it rouses self-forgotten, self-abandoned races from their mortal languor. In all times war has been an essential factor in civilization. It has exercised a happy influence upon customs, arts, and science."⁸⁵ Thus the advocates of war regard it as "a cure by iron which strengthens humanity."⁸⁶

Some believers in this theory go so far as to base their philosophy of life on war. "Steinmetz is a good example. War, according to this author, is an ordeal instituted by God, who weighs the nations in its balance. It is the essential form of the State, and the only function in which peoples can employ all their powers at once and convergently. No victory is possible save as the resultant of a totality of virtues, no defeat for which some vice or weakness is not responsible. Fidelity, cohesive-

⁸⁰Hill: *World Organization and the Modern State*, 153; Comp. Trueblood: *Federation of the World*, 4, note.

⁸¹Comp. Shaler: *The Individual*, 232.

⁸²See Novicow: *War and Its Alleged Benefits*, 1-2.

⁸³*Revue des deux Mondes*, Apr. 1, 1894, p. 692; quo. in Novicow: *War and Its Alleged Benefits*, 48, 60, 66.

⁸⁴*Almanach de Hachette*, 1894; see Novicow: *War and Its Alleged Benefits*, 48.

⁸⁵Jahns: *Ueber Krieg, Frieden und Kultur*, Berlin 1893; see Novicow, 1.

⁸⁶Quo. in Novicow, 66.

ness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy, wealth, physical health and vigor . . . there isn't a moral or intellectual point of superiority that doesn't tell, when God holds his assizes and hurls the peoples upon one another. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*; and Dr. Steinmetz does not believe that in the long run chance and luck play any part in apportioning the issues."³⁷ Thus Steinmetz is summed up by Prof. James. And Prof. Royce's interpretation of the author of *The Philosophy of War* is similar: "According to him (Steinmetz), war gives an opportunity for loyal devotion so notable and important that, if war were altogether abolished, one of the greatest goods of civilization would thereby be hopelessly lost."³⁸ Perhaps gun philosophy reached the very height of the absurd in the unfortunate outburst of a German professor at the First Universal Races Congress in London in 1911. "Nations will come and nations will go," he declared, "but racial and national antagonism will remain; and this is well, for mankind would become like a flock of sheep if we were to lose our national ambition and cease to look with pride and delight, not only on our industries and science, but also on our splendid soldiers and our glorious ironclads."³⁹ Could inanity go beyond this? As if the cosmic processes existed to produce "splendid soldiers" and "glorious ironclads" as their final and finest product! Strange contradiction—that altruism can be developed only by killing!

How shall we answer the militarist? Simply by saying that he proves too much. For, as Novicow reasons, "if war 'gives men the opportunity to perform feats of heroism, self-denial and devotion,' why not wage war between subjects of the same country? Civil war can develop all these virtues as well as international."⁴⁰ Happily, in spite of all the arguments to the contrary, war is rapidly being consigned to the world's scrap-heap of inefficient and out-grown institutions.

II—A WORTHY SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR NEEDED.

1. *Internationalism already begun.*

The fact is, the world already has entered upon an era of internationalism. No one can read such an article as Judge Simeon E. Baldwin's *International Congresses and Conferences*

³⁷William James: *The Moral Equivalent of War*.

³⁸Royce: *Philosophy of Loyalty*, 13.

³⁹Spiller: *Inter-racial Problems*, 23.

⁴⁰Novicow: *War and Its Alleged Benefits*, 81.

of the Last Century as Forces Working Toward the Solidarity of the World,⁴¹ or such a book as Professor Reinsch's *Public International Unions*, without perceiving that already we have begun to keep house co-operatively as a world. Since 1874, the nations of the world have supported and operated the Universal Postal Union.⁴² Professor Reinsch tells us that there are some forty-five international enterprises or joint commissions now in operation, of which about thirty have permanent bureaus and publish regular bulletins.⁴³ Twenty-one nations officially support and do business through the Pan-American Union.⁴⁴ In Central America a permanent High Court of Nations is in actual operation, the first of its kind in the history of the world. A periodic congress of nations, for a century the dream of peace-makers, is here in the shape of the Hague Conference. We have an International Court at The Hague, and soon shall have a better one. The poet's dream has been realized and the daring vision is now a prose commonplace actuality, for the nations now meet "In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."⁴⁵ And the same irresistible evolutionary forces which forced the American Colonies on from a loose federation to a real nation, will, in a similar way, carry forward the world from its present loosely federated organization to a unified, simplified, economical, effective and universally just internationalism. We have gone so far that it is easy to discern in what direction we are moving. The world is moving away from war and towards rational, productive, efficient world-housekeeping.

2. *War enginery an anachronism to-day.*

War enginery is an anachronism in this day. In an interview with King Edward VII, of Great Britain, in March, 1910, Mr. Fairbanks, former Vice-President of the United States, said: "Wherever I have been I have seen ships building and troops drilling for war and yet I have seen no cause of war. The effects of this madness are visible in the squalor and distress of mankind. The theory that without war nations would become degenerate and that virility would go out of the masses is unworthy of any mind outside a madhouse. Degeneracy is coming about because the people are so oppressed

⁴¹*American Journal of International Law*, I, 567.

⁴²*American Journal of International Law*, IV, 185-6.

⁴³Reinsch: *Public International Unions*, 4.

⁴⁴Barrett: *The Pan American Union*.

⁴⁵Tennyson: *Locksley Hall, Poems*, Cambridge edition, 92.

that they cannot be properly clothed, housed and fed."⁴⁶ This is the situation: We live in an age of industrial, economic and scientific development; yet, with no causes for war existing in any part of the world, the nations are beggared for the support of war establishments. And not only is the world brought to the verge of bankruptcy by this policy, but the inflammability of all this war material is a perpetual menace to human welfare and progress. To change the figure, practically the only cloud in the whole sky is this ominous war-cloud. To revert to our figure of the spring freshet: The only danger which threatens mankind with an inundation of disaster and ruin is the abnormally swollen flood of war preparation. This flood of war thought and war talk and war practice must be drawn off through some useful, or at least harmless, channel before long, or it will overleap its due bounds and, sweeping away the safety embankments, carry devastation to all the peoples of the earth. How shall we set the war giant to work? He is the chief foe to the most progressive and best statesmanship of the world to-day. He is the heaviest incubus holding back world civilization. Not only is the world brought to the verge of bankruptcy to feed his insatiable appetite, but this pampered, surly bully threatens at any moment to break out in a fit of nasty temper and run amuck up and down the earth, smiting and smashing indiscriminately and universally whatever has been built up by organized civilization. As John Fiske pointed out, in his day: "Warfare, once regarded as the only fitting occupation for well-bred men, has come to be regarded not only as an intolerable nuisance, but even as a criminal business, save when justified on the ground of self-defence."⁴⁷

3. *Wanted, a substitute for war and a useful outlet for the war spirit.*

Over a hundred years ago Dr. Channing "felt that the time had come in Christendom when men's struggles should not be like the struggles of the brutes, but struggles in the realm of ideas, with ideas themselves as the only respectable weapons."⁴⁸ What the world most needs, just at this particular point in its evolution, is a peaceful substitute for war and a useful outlet for the war spirit. As Professor William James pointed out, just

⁴⁶Chicago Daily News, March 4th, 1910.

⁴⁷Fiske: *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, 192.

⁴⁸Edwin D. Mead: *Introduction to Channing's Discourses on War*. XXVI.

before his lamented death, it is highly desirable to find "the moral equivalent of war." We must remember, however, as David Jayne Hill reminds us, that "war, in spite of its terrible atrocities, has always appealed to strong and noble natures; and many of the most unselfish and useful men who have ever lived have been warriors. Calling as it does for sacrifice and heroism, conflict seems to link the individual to some great cause that lies beyond the inconsequence of mere personal ease and selfish enjoyment, and places before him an object of existence beyond himself."⁴⁹ We must retain that which is good in the war system, namely, the martial virtues of strenuousness, loyalty, disinterestedness, discipline and a high sense of honor. But we must find the "moral equivalent of war," for the production and exercise of these virtues. Hitherto war has been the only school in which whole peoples could be trained in these virtues. But henceforth the same training should be attained by different means. We agree with Mr. H. G. Wells, in his *First and Last Things*, "that the conception of order and discipline, the tradition of service and devotion, of physical fitness, unstinted exertion, and universal responsibility, which universal military duty is now teaching European nations, will remain a permanent acquisition, when the last ammunition has been used in the fire-works that celebrate the final peace."⁵⁰

4. *Loyalty the all-inclusive soldier virtue.*

Now loyalty is the all-inclusive soldier virtue. You tell me that a man is brave, self-sacrificing, faithful in the petty details of daily routine, and you are only telling me that under all circumstances and in all situations the soldier is loyal. Loyalty means all these things and all other things that go to make up his duty as a soldier. This is the prime soldier virtue.

Would that men might learn this lesson of loyalty! How many problems would be solved or simplified, and how different human society would be, if all men were loyal to duty, loyal to their ideal, loyal to the best that is in them! Says Professor Royce: "Everybody has heard of loyalty; most prize it; but few perceive it to be what, in its inmost spirit, it really is—the heart of all the virtues, the central duty amongst all duties."⁵¹ And Dr. Royce goes on to say: "Unless you can find some loy-

⁴⁹Hill: *World Organization and the Modern State*, 152.

⁵⁰Wells: *First and Last Things*, 226.

⁵¹Royce: *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, Preface, vii.

alty, you cannot find unity and peace in your active living. You must find, then, a cause that is really worthy of the sort of devotion that the soldiers, rushing cheerfully to certain death, have felt for their clan or for their country, and that the martyrs have shown on behalf of their faith. This cause must be indeed rational, worthy, and no object of a false devotion. But once found, it must become your conscience, must tell you the truth about your duty, and must unify, as from without and from above, your motives, your special ideals and your plans."⁵² The same discerning thinker goes on to suggest that in building up men in loyalty, we must build on what we have; that is, we must take the cruder loyalty, such as we see in the soldier or college athlete, and bring it up to a higher level, or, in a word, spiritualize it. And Dr. Royce specifically says: "We unquestionably need substitutes for military service as a means of training for a loyal life. It belongs to our social leaders to invent and popularize such substitutes. Herein lies one of the great undertakings of the future."⁵³

III—SOME SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR.

1. *Industrialism suggested by Carlyle and Ruskin.*

What shall be the substitute for war? Carlyle and Ruskin suggested industrialism as a substitute for military strife. In his *Unto This Last*, Ruskin pleads for "Soldiers of the Ploughshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword."⁵⁴ In his *Crown of Wild Olives* occurs his famous passage: "Men are enlisted for the labour that kills—the labour of war; they are counted, trained, fed, dressed, and praised for that. Let them be enlisted also for the labour that feeds: let them be counted, trained, fed, dressed, praised for that. Teach the plough exercises as carefully as you do the sword exercises, and let the officers of troops of life be held as much gentlemen as the officers of troops of death."⁵⁵ Carlyle advocated the organization of the workers into regiments under intelligent leaders, just as at present soldiers are organized. And he exclaimed: "No Working World, any more than a Fighting World, can be led on without a noble Chivalry of Work . . . far nobler than any Chivalry of Fighting was."⁵⁶

⁵²The same, 46-47.

⁵³The same, 268.

⁵⁴Ruskin: *Unto This Last*, 160.

⁵⁵Lecture on *Work*, in Ruskin: *Crown of Wild Olives*, 47-48.

⁵⁶Carlyle: *Past and Present*, Works VI, 476.

2. *Miss Addams's more comprehensive suggestion.*

But superior to the vague dreams of Ruskin and Carlyle, is the more practical and comprehensive suggestion of Miss Addams in her *Newer Ideals of Peace*. Miss Addams suggests not only industry as an outlet for the war spirit, but also politics, social service and reform. One or two passages will show the line of her argument. "We care less each day for the heroism connected with warfare and destruction, and constantly admire more that which pertains to labor and the nourishing of human life. The new heroism manifests itself at the present moment in a universal determination to abolish poverty and disease, a manifestation so widespread that it may justly be called international."⁸⁷ "We may admire much that is admirable in this past life of courageous warfare, while at the same time we accord it no right to dominate the present, which has traveled out of its reach into a land of new desires."⁸⁸ "The past may have been involved in war and suffering in order to bring forth a new and beneficent courage, an invincible ardor for conserving and healing human life, for understanding and elaborating it. . . . The task that is really before us is first to see to it that the old virtues bequeathed by war are not retained after they have become a social deterrent, and that social progress is not checked by a certain contempt for human nature which is but the inherited result of conquest. Second, we must act upon the assumption that spontaneous and fraternal action as virile and widespread as war itself is the only method by which substitutes for war virtues may be discovered."⁸⁹ So able and comprehensive is Miss Addams's presentation of this thought of industrialism, politics, social service and reform as a substitute for war regiments that little is left to be said.

3. *Religion the worthiest substitute for war and the best outlet for the war spirit.*

In the present study the position will be taken that the best substitute for war that we can think of, and the most desirable outlet for the war spirit, is religion. As Humboldt said: "The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is man."⁹⁰ It may be added that the biggest, finest thing about man is his religion. The human soul is the goal of cosmic evolution, if we may

⁸⁷Jane Addams: *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 24-25.

⁸⁸The same, 211.

⁸⁹The same, 212-213.

⁹⁰See Wendell Phillips: *Speeches, Lectures and Addresses*, II, 349.

believe our scientists and philosophers.⁶¹ What the universe is travailing to bring forth is moral goodness. But the most important force in making a man good is his religion. As Theodore Parker put it: "In character the most important element is the religious, for it is to be the guide and director of all the rest, the foundation-element of human excellence."⁶² And poetry agrees with science and philosophy. Take Walt Whitman's words, for example:

"I say that the real and permanent grandeur of These States
must be their Religion ;

Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur ;
Nor character, nor life worthy the name, without Religion ;
Nor land, nor man or woman, without Religion."⁶³

Industry, politics and reforms are very important. But they are not so big nor so important as religion, even as the part is not equal to the whole. Religion embraces all the activities of man, wage-earning, producing, voting, creating standards and customs, and all other human activities.

This, then, is the thought. The greatest aggregation of physical might which has been assembled by man is the war system. Inventions, improvements, scientific discovery, money, machinery, men, organized system, all head up into the war establishment. Man's supreme physical and mental effort thus far seems to find its completest embodiment in battleships and disappearing coast rifles and the equipment of armies. It is fitting, then, that man's supreme physical achievement should serve as a stepping-stone to religion, since religion is the biggest, finest and most spiritual attainment of man. And this can be accomplished by the spiritualization of war. If, as Mr. Emerson says, "creation is on wheels, in transit, always passing into something else, streaming into something higher,"⁶⁴ how better can we use the war spirit than by harnessing it to the waging of a higher warfare?

IV—THE IDEA OF A HIGHER SOLDIERSHIP IN HARMONY WITH HUMAN EXPERIENCE.

1. *The idea an old one.*

The conception of the religious life as a warfare is not new.

⁶¹Read, for example, John Fiske's volumes.

⁶²Theodore Parker: *Works*, Cobbe edition, II. 106.

⁶³Whitman: *Starting from Paumanok*, see *Leaves of Grass*, 21.

⁶⁴Emerson: *Poetry and Imagination*, *Works*, VIII, 10.

Prof. Eucken tells us that to the Stoics existence was profoundly serious, and life was filled with toil and struggle. "The conception of life as a conflict (*vivere est militare*) owes its origin particularly to this source, whence it has passed into the common consciousness of mankind."⁶⁵ Epictetus asked, "Do you not know that human life is a warfare? . . . Every man's life is a kind of warfare. You must observe the duty of the soldier."⁶⁶ Marcus Aurelius declared, "life is a warfare."⁶⁷ He describes the righteous man as "a priest and minister of the gods, . . . a fighter in the noblest fight, one who cannot be overpowered by any passion, dyed deep with justice."⁶⁸

Only within a few years have we known very much about Mithraism, the religion which was the most powerful competitor of Christianity in the early years of the Christian era.⁶⁹ "In the Avesta we find Mithra repeatedly invoked as a warlike and formidable deity, a god of battles, swift to assail and slay the enemies of truth and justice—which would normally mean, the enemies of his worshippers."⁷⁰ We find an interesting bit of testimony to the warlikeness of Mithraism in the writings of one of the early Christian Fathers. Tertullian, in complaining that the "devil" imitates the divine mysteries, i. e., baptism and the Lord's Supper, says: "Mithra sets his mark on the forehead of his soldiers . . . and presents at once the crown and the sword."⁷¹ Though Mithraism eventually gave way before Christianity, nevertheless it left its mark upon the latter. "Some Mithraic items went but more remained. The Christian bishop . . . wore red military boots, now said to be 'emblematical of the spiritual warfare on which he had entered;' in reality, doubtless borrowed from the military worship of Mithra, dear to the first Christian emperor."⁷²

In Christian literature there is no figure which is so often used, all down through the centuries, as this idea that the Christian is a soldier and the Christian life a warfare. Paul's letters and other New Testament writings are full of military figures. In various passages, the apostle compares the Christian life "to the stringent and exact discipline of the military

⁶⁵Eucken: *Problem of Human Life*, 89-90.

⁶⁶Epictetus: *Discourses*, 162-3.

⁶⁷Marcus Aurelius: *Thoughts*, 75, 103.

⁶⁸The same, 108.

⁶⁹*Harvard Theological Review*, III, 195-200.

⁷⁰*Religious Systems of the World*, 197.

⁷¹The same, 205.

⁷²The same, 213.

service; the total separation of the soldier from his own private affairs, and the absolute subjection of his body and life to the hardships of the camp, and the will of the commander. . . . Sometimes the particular point of comparison turns on the matter of persistency; as in the resisting unto blood. Sometimes on the matter of courage; as when the righteous are declared to wax valiant in fight. Sometimes on the precision of stroke and parry in close combat with evil; as when one fights in a cavalry charge—not uncertainly, or as beating the air.”⁷³

Says the author of *The Arbiter in Council*: “Tertullian, the first of the Latin Fathers whose writings have come down to us, was the son of a centurion. Many of his metaphors were drawn from camp life. . . . The Christians were ‘milites Christi.’”⁷⁴ Tertullian writes, exhorting Christians to be steadfast under persecution: “Even in peace soldiers learn by labor and heavy tasks to endure war, since they are always under arms, perform their exercise in the open field, and dig trenches. Therefore, ye blessed ones, regard all your hardships as exercise for your powers of body.”⁷⁵ To quote Professor Eucken again: “The Occidental Christians were fond of calling themselves ‘soldiers of God’; and of the thinkers Cyprian in particular delighted in metaphors drawn from military affairs and the lives of soldiers.”⁷⁶ Mosheim tells us concerning the Christian life in the second century: “Those who obtained admission to the Kingdom of Christ . . . like newly enlisted soldiers, swore to obey their commander.”⁷⁷ A most significant passage is found in the sixth book of the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius, who was sometimes styled “The Christian Cicero”: “The righteous man may not be a soldier, for righteousness itself is his soldiership.”⁷⁸ Here we have the very thought which we are trying to present in this study. Neander alludes to the “favorite comparison among the early Christians between their vocation and a military service (militia).” Again he says: “The Christians . . . were fond of comparing their calling to a military warfare, a militia Christi.”⁷⁹ And in another of his works, the same historian writes: “As the whole life of the Christian is a conflict

⁷³Bushnell: *Sermons on Living Subjects*, 397.

⁷⁴Hirst: *The Arbiter in Council*, 530.

⁷⁵See Brain: *The Morning Watch*, 354.

⁷⁶Eucken: *Problem of Human Life*, 184.

⁷⁷Mosheim: *Church History*, I, 134.

⁷⁸See Hirst: *The Arbiter in Council*, 530.

⁷⁹Neander: *Church History*, I, 425, 409.

with the world and the powers of darkness, a conflict within and without, the kingdom of God in this world must appear as militant, and must make its way by conflict; so that often in the Holy Writ the calling of the Christian is compared to that of military life, and the Christian is represented as the soldier of his Lord. This image was very clear and familiar to the first Christians. . . . To this the beautiful words refer in the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp: 'Strive to please him in whose service you are fighting, for from him you will receive the pay. Let none of you prove deserters.' Augustine frequently makes beautiful use of the same comparison. . . . He says in a sermon: 'Compare thyself with a soldier; when thou art standing in the service, bearing the mark of thy commander, thou canst with full confidence perform thy service. But when thou bearest it *out of service* the mark will not only be of no use for the service, but thou wilt be punished as a deserter.'⁸⁰ Indeed our modern word *sacrament* comes down to us from this early period of Christianity, being derived from *sacramentum*—a soldier's oath. In later centuries we find the same idea cropping out. St. Columba, of Scotland, "from a child was enrolled for the warfare of Christ."⁸¹ The Spanish Christians, driven from their homes by the Moors, looked upon themselves as soldiers of the cross.⁸²

A most notable and interesting volume which has come down to us is the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or *The Manual of the Christian Knight*, by Erasmus, which was published in 1501.⁸³ The *Enchiridion* is a manual of Christian ethics.⁸⁴ It was written as "a Compendious Treatise of the Soldier of Christ" for a courtier who was a friend of the author.⁸⁵ To this knightly friend Erasmus specifically explains the object of the book: "That thou mightest quickly wax big and strong in him, and spring up unto a perfect man."⁸⁶ Let us take two short passages which will suffice to give us the key-note of the entire book. Near the beginning of the *Enchiridion* Erasmus writes: "Oh thou Christian man, rememberest thou not when thou wert

⁸⁰Neander: *Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages*, quo. in Brain: *Morning Watch*, 364.

⁸¹MacCracken and Piper: *Lives of Leaders of Church Universal*, I, 116.

⁸²Buckle: *History of Civilization*, II, 13.

⁸³Erasmus: *Enchiridion*, closing paragraph.

⁸⁴Cambridge *Modern History*, I, 571.

⁸⁵Erasmus: *Enchiridion*, edition published by Methuen and Co., London, 1905, p. 41.

⁸⁶The same, 286.

service; the total separation of the soldier from his own private affairs, and the absolute subjection of his body and life to the hardships of the camp, and the will of the commander. . . . Sometimes the particular point of comparison turns on the matter of persistency; as in the resisting unto blood. Sometimes on the matter of courage; as when the righteous are declared to wax valiant in fight. Sometimes on the precision of stroke and parry in close combat with evil; as when one fights in a cavalry charge—not uncertainly, or as beating the air.”⁷³

Says the author of *The Arbiter in Council*: “Tertullian, the first of the Latin Fathers whose writings have come down to us, was the son of a centurion. Many of his metaphors were drawn from camp life. . . . The Christians were ‘milites Christi.’”⁷⁴ Tertullian writes, exhorting Christians to be steadfast under persecution: “Even in peace soldiers learn by labor and heavy tasks to endure war, since they are always under arms, perform their exercise in the open field, and dig trenches. Therefore, ye blessed ones, regard all your hardships as exercise for your powers of body.”⁷⁵ To quote Professor Eucken again: “The Occidental Christians were fond of calling themselves ‘soldiers of God’; and of the thinkers Cyprian in particular delighted in metaphors drawn from military affairs and the lives of soldiers.”⁷⁶ Mosheim tells us concerning the Christian life in the second century: “Those who obtained admission to the Kingdom of Christ . . . like newly enlisted soldiers, swore to obey their commander.”⁷⁷ A most significant passage is found in the sixth book of the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius, who was sometimes styled “The Christian Cicero”: “The righteous man may not be a soldier, for righteousness itself is his soldiership.”⁷⁸ Here we have the very thought which we are trying to present in this study. Neander alludes to the “favorite comparison among the early Christians between their vocation and a military service (militia).” Again he says: “The Christians . . . were fond of comparing their calling to a military warfare, a militia Christi.”⁷⁹ And in another of his works, the same historian writes: “As the whole life of the Christian is a conflict

⁷³Bushnell: *Sermons on Living Subjects*, 397.

⁷⁴Hirst: *The Arbiter in Council*, 530.

⁷⁵See Brain: *The Morning Watch*, 354.

⁷⁶Eucken: *Problem of Human Life*, 184.

⁷⁷Mosheim: *Church History*, I, 134.

⁷⁸See Hirst: *The Arbiter in Council*, 530.

⁷⁹Neander: *Church History*, I, 425, 409.

with the world and the powers of darkness, a conflict within and without, the kingdom of God in this world must appear as militant, and must make its way by conflict; so that often in the Holy Writ the calling of the Christian is compared to that of military life, and the Christian is represented as the soldier of his Lord. This image was very clear and familiar to the first Christians. . . . To this the beautiful words refer in the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp: 'Strive to please him in whose service you are fighting, for from him you will receive the pay. Let none of you prove deserters.' Augustine frequently makes beautiful use of the same comparison. . . . He says in a sermon: 'Compare thyself with a soldier; when thou art standing in the service, bearing the mark of thy commander, thou canst with full confidence perform thy service. But when thou bearest it *out of service* the mark will not only be of no use for the service, but thou wilt be punished as a deserter.'⁸⁰ Indeed our modern word *sacrament* comes down to us from this early period of Christianity, being derived from *sacramentum*—a soldier's oath. In later centuries we find the same idea cropping out. St. Columba, of Scotland, "from a child was enrolled for the warfare of Christ."⁸¹ The Spanish Christians, driven from their homes by the Moors, looked upon themselves as soldiers of the cross.⁸²

A most notable and interesting volume which has come down to us is the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or *The Manual of the Christian Knight*, by Erasmus, which was published in 1501.⁸³ The *Enchiridion* is a manual of Christian ethics.⁸⁴ It was written as "a Compendious Treatise of the Soldier of Christ" for a courtier who was a friend of the author.⁸⁵ To this knightly friend Erasmus specifically explains the object of the book: "That thou mightest quickly wax big and strong in him, and spring up unto a perfect man."⁸⁶ Let us take two short passages which will suffice to give us the key-note of the entire book. Near the beginning of the *Enchiridion* Erasmus writes: "Oh thou Christian man, rememberest thou not when thou wert

⁸⁰Neander: *Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages*, quo. in Brain: *Morning Watch*, 354.

⁸¹MacCracken and Piper: *Lives of Leaders of Church Universal*, I, 116.

⁸²Buckle: *History of Civilization*, II, 18.

⁸³Erasmus: *Enchiridion*, closing paragraph.

⁸⁴*Cambridge Modern History*, I, 571.

⁸⁵Erasmus: *Enchiridion*, edition published by Methuen and Co., London, 1905, p. 41.

⁸⁶The same, 286.

professed and consecrate with the holy mysteries, . . . how thou boundest thyself to be a faithful soldier unto thy captain?"⁸⁷ And near the end of the little book, the distinguished humanist writes: "This only was my desire . . . to show a certain manner and craft of a new kind of war, how thou mightest arm thyself against the evils of the old life bourgeoning forth again and springing afresh."⁸⁸ Here, then, we find again the very thought which is to be the core of our own study of the religious life as a higher warfare.

Crippled while leading his troops in battle, a brave Spanish officer was forced to abandon military service. While in the hospital, under treatment for his wounds, the inspiration came to him to organize a religious soldiery. This was the origin of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola. The *Spiritual Exercises*, the famous volume of Saint Ignatius, was written by Loyola as a spiritual drill manual for his followers.⁸⁹ "In a life-picture of Christ it is shown how man must prove himself in the war for and with Christ."⁹⁰ A notable passage is that which describes *The Two Standards*, "a sort of a parable in which St. Ignatius represents our Lord and Lucifer as two captains armed one against another, and calling all men to their standards."⁹¹ Even before the Society of Jesus was dreamed of by the wounded Loyola, the Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Monserrat, Garcias Cisneros, in 1493, "composed a *Book of Spiritual Exercises*, from which Ignatius of Loyola may have borrowed the title for his very different and much more scientific treatise, when he retired to this convent and was guided by the Benedictine Chanones."⁹² Any such indebtedness, however, is strenuously denied by the biographers of Ignatius.⁹³

Let us now turn from the Jesuit, Loyola, to the immortal brazier, or tinker, of Bedford. That John Bunyan for a time was in military service is recorded for us by Macaulay thus: "When he was about seventeen, the ordinary course of his life was interrupted by an event which gave a lasting color to his

⁸⁷The same, 45.

⁸⁸The same, 288.

⁸⁹In the copy of this book in my possession the title is given as *Manresa*, or *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*. (London: Burns and Oates.) *Manresa* was the town in which Saint Ignatius practised his austerities upon himself. See Bouhours: *Life of St. Ignatius*, 72 ff.

⁹⁰McClintock and Strong: *Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopaedia*, V, 585.

⁹¹*Manresa, or The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 166.

⁹²*Cambridge Modern History*, I, 651.

⁹³For example, Bouhours: *Life of St. Ignatius*, 95.

thoughts. He enlisted in the parliamentary army, and served during the decisive campaign of 1645. All that we know of his military career is that, at the siege of Leicester, one of his comrades, who had taken his post, was killed by a shot from the town. Bunyan ever after considered himself as having been saved from death by the interference of Providence. It may be observed that his imagination was strongly impressed by the glimpse which he had caught of the pomp of war. To the last he loved to draw his illustrations of sacred things from camps and fortresses, from guns, drums, trumpets, flags of truce, and regiments arrayed, each under its own banner. His Greatheart, his Captain Boanerges, and his Captain Credence, are evidently portraits, of which the originals were among those martial saints who fought and expounded in Fairfax's army."⁸⁴ Everybody has read *Pilgrim's Progress*. Probably few, however, have ever read the *Holy War*, in which is an account of the capture of Mansoul by Diabolus and its re-taking by Emmanuel. Some of the most suggestive passages describe the storming of Eye-Gate, Ear-Gate, etc.⁸⁵ Says a literary critic: "His *Holy War* is a powerful allegory, and it has been called a prose *Paradise Lost*."⁸⁶

We must hurriedly trace the idea down through some other writers who have pictured the religious life as a warfare. Of the *Faerie Queene* (the first three books of which were published in 1590), its author, Edmund Spenser, tells us: "I labour to portraict in Arthure, before he was King, the image of a brave Knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised." The plan was to have twelve Knights, personifying twelve virtues, fight with opposing vices.⁸⁷ From the title of one of George Herbert's poems, *The Church Militant*, one would naturally expect to find in that poem something bearing on our present line of thought. But no specific contribution is made. For a long time it was supposed that the author of the book *Batalla Spiritual—Spiritual Combat*—was Juan de Castagniza, but the authorship of this work is now attributed to the monk, Laurent Scupoli.⁸⁸ As I write, I have before me a picture of the title-page and description of John Downname's *Chris-*

⁸⁴Macaulay: *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays*, III, 255.

⁸⁵*The Holy War* is published in inexpensive form in the Temple Classics.

⁸⁶Halleck: *History of English Literature*, 227.

⁸⁷See Halleck: *History of English Literature*, 129.

⁸⁸Comp. Upham: *Life of Madame Guyon*, 191; and McClintock and Strong, XI, 837.

tian Warfare against the Devil, World and Flesh. This was one of the volumes presented to Harvard College by its founder, and is the only book of all that were given by John Harvard to the institution which bears his name, to escape the flames which destroyed the college library in 1764.⁹⁹ Milton's great epic, *Paradise Lost*, begins with an account of Satan's revolt in heaven, his conflict with the Almighty, and his banishment of himself and his rebellious legions from heaven. The fallen angels then hold a council and plot the fall of man as a means of revenging themselves upon God.¹⁰⁰ Historians tell us that "Corneille sang of magnanimity, of loftiness of soul. . . . He depicted those 'warrior souls' whom Bossuet was later to call to mind; and at his bidding there passes before our eyes a long procession of combatant spirits."¹⁰¹ Novalis describes life as a battle and a march.¹⁰²

Coming down to later times, we find Dr. Bushnell discoursing on such a theme as "Military Discipline."¹⁰³ Charles Kingsley has left us some suggestive sermons on such themes as "A Soldier's Training" and "The Battle Within."¹⁰⁴ Wendell Phillips once gave an address on "Christianity a Battle, not a Dream." It was in this discourse that the great agitator uttered his memorable saying that "one soul with an idea outweighs ninety-nine men moved only by interests."¹⁰⁵ Many years after the death of Henry Ward Beecher, some threescore of outlines of sermons preached by him, mostly in 1864-65, were brought together in a volume under three headings, namely, "The Summons," "The Warfare" and "The Great Commander."¹⁰⁶ Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, that doughty anti-militarist, abounds in the use of our figure. For example, take such a passage as this: "According to the Christian religion, the whole world is a battle field, and we are all called to be soldiers. . . . Unless a man is willing to suffer he cannot be a soldier of the cross."¹⁰⁷ And his address on "The New Crusade" is one of the most stirring moral bugle-calls of modern times.¹⁰⁸ The military conception even

⁹⁹See *Boston Herald*, Nov. 22, 1907.

¹⁰⁰Milton: *Paradise Lost*.

¹⁰¹*Cambridge Modern History*, V, 66.

¹⁰²See Vaughan: *Hours with the Mystics*, II, 349.

¹⁰³Bushnell: *Sermons on Living Subjects*, 397.

¹⁰⁴Kingsley: *Village Sermons and Town and Country Sermons*, 213, 422.

¹⁰⁵Wendell Phillips: *Speeches, Lectures and Addresses*, II, 276 ff.

¹⁰⁶*Sermon Briefs by Henry Ward Beecher*, published by The Pilgrim Press.

¹⁰⁷Jefferson: *Doctrine and Deed*, 121-2.

¹⁰⁸Jefferson: *The New Crusade*.

percolates through into rituals, and in the Protestant Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*, in the formula for the administration of baptism "to those of riper years," it is prescribed that the minister shall make a cross upon the person's forehead and say: "We receive this person into the congregation of Christ's flock; and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end."¹⁰⁹

This survey, lengthy as it is, traces in a most hurried fashion the idea down through the centuries. Let us bring it to a close by a reference to Phillips Brooks, who wrote a great sermon on *The Battle of Life*. Later one of his volumes bore this same title. His thought was that we should keep the record of military heroisms, but not turn back to military warfare. To quote his own words used in the sermon on *The Battle of Life*, "Life is a battle. . . . if we are earnest men."¹¹⁰ And in his sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, he expanded the thought thus: "There is nothing good or glorious which war has brought forth in human nature which peace may not produce more richly and more permanently. When we cease to think of peace as the negative of war, and think of war as the negative of peace, making war and not peace the exception and interruption of human life, making peace and not war the type and glory of existence, then shall shine forth the higher soldiership of the higher battles. Then the first military spirit and its works shall seem to be but crude struggles after, and rehearsals for, that higher fight, the fight after the eternal facts and their obedience, the fight against the perpetually intrusive lie, which is the richer glory of the riper man. The facts of government, the facts of commerce, the facts of science, the facts of society, the facts of history, the facts of man, the facts of God, in these, in the perception of their glory, in the obedience to their compulsion, shall be the possibility and promise of the soldier statesman, the soldier scientist, the soldier philanthropist, the soldier priest, the soldier man. 'The sword is beaten into the ploughshare, the spear into the pruning-hook.'

¹⁰⁹*Protestant Episcopal Book of Common Prayer.*

¹¹⁰Brooks: *Sermons*, VI, 62, 71 ff.

tian Warfare against the Devil, World and Flesh. This was one of the volumes presented to Harvard College by its founder, and is the only book of all that were given by John Harvard to the institution which bears his name, to escape the flames which destroyed the college library in 1764.⁹⁹ Milton's great epic, *Paradise Lost*, begins with an account of Satan's revolt in heaven, his conflict with the Almighty, and his banishment of himself and his rebellious legions from heaven. The fallen angels then hold a council and plot the fall of man as a means of revenging themselves upon God.¹⁰⁰ Historians tell us that "Corneille sang of magnanimity, of loftiness of soul. . . . He depicted those 'warrior souls' whom Bossuet was later to call to mind; and at his bidding there passes before our eyes a long procession of combatant spirits."¹⁰¹ Novalis describes life as a battle and a march.¹⁰²

Coming down to later times, we find Dr. Bushnell discoursing on such a theme as "Military Discipline."¹⁰³ Charles Kingsley has left us some suggestive sermons on such themes as "A Soldier's Training" and "The Battle Within."¹⁰⁴ Wendell Phillips once gave an address on "Christianity a Battle, not a Dream." It was in this discourse that the great agitator uttered his memorable saying that "one soul with an idea outweighs ninety-nine men moved only by interests."¹⁰⁵ Many years after the death of Henry Ward Beecher, some threescore of outlines of sermons preached by him, mostly in 1864-65, were brought together in a volume under three headings, namely, "The Summons," "The Warfare" and "The Great Commander."¹⁰⁶ Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, that doughty anti-militarist, abounds in the use of our figure. For example, take such a passage as this: "According to the Christian religion, the whole world is a battle field, and we are all called to be soldiers. . . . Unless a man is willing to suffer he cannot be a soldier of the cross."¹⁰⁷ And his address on "The New Crusade" is one of the most stirring moral bugle-calls of modern times.¹⁰⁸ The military conception even

⁹⁹See *Boston Herald*, Nov. 22, 1907.

¹⁰⁰Milton: *Paradise Lost*.

¹⁰¹*Cambridge Modern History*, V, 66.

¹⁰²See Vaughan: *Hours with the Mystics*, II, 349.

¹⁰³Bushnell: *Sermons on Living Subjects*, 397.

¹⁰⁴Kingsley: *Village Sermons and Town and Country Sermons*, 213, 422.

¹⁰⁵Wendell Phillips: *Speeches, Lectures and Addresses*, II, 276 ff.

¹⁰⁶*Sermon Briefs by Henry Ward Beecher*, published by The Pilgrim Press.

¹⁰⁷Jefferson: *Doctrine and Deed*, 121-2.

¹⁰⁸Jefferson: *The New Crusade*.

percolates through into rituals, and in the Protestant Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*, in the formula for the administration of baptism "to those of riper years," it is prescribed that the minister shall make a cross upon the person's forehead and say: "We receive this person into the congregation of Christ's flock; and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end."¹⁰⁹

This survey, lengthy as it is, traces in a most hurried fashion the idea down through the centuries. Let us bring it to a close by a reference to Phillips Brooks, who wrote a great sermon on *The Battle of Life*. Later one of his volumes bore this same title. His thought was that we should keep the record of military heroisms, but not turn back to military warfare. To quote his own words used in the sermon on *The Battle of Life*, "Life is a battle. . . if we are earnest men."¹¹⁰ And in his sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, he expanded the thought thus: "There is nothing good or glorious which war has brought forth in human nature which peace may not produce more richly and more permanently. When we cease to think of peace as the negative of war, and think of war as the negative of peace, making war and not peace the exception and interruption of human life, making peace and not war the type and glory of existence, then shall shine forth the higher soldiership of the higher battles. Then the first military spirit and its works shall seem to be but crude struggles after, and rehearsals for, that higher fight, the fight after the eternal facts and their obedience, the fight against the perpetually intrusive lie, which is the richer glory of the riper man. The facts of government, the facts of commerce, the facts of science, the facts of society, the facts of history, the facts of man, the facts of God, in these, in the perception of their glory, in the obedience to their compulsion, shall be the possibility and promise of the soldier statesman, the soldier scientist, the soldier philanthropist, the soldier priest, the soldier man. 'The sword is beaten into the ploughshare, the spear into the pruning-hook.'

¹⁰⁹*Protestant Episcopal Book of Common Prayer.*

¹¹⁰Brooks: *Sermons*, VI, 62, 71 ff.

'The war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled.' But it is not that the power of fight has perished: it is that the battle has gone up on to higher ground, and into higher light. The battle is above the clouds."¹¹¹

2. *The idea readily understood by all.*

The military notion of life has, at least, the merit of being universally understood. A blood-drenched world knows all too well what war means. As Mrs. Livermore, in one of her trenchant lectures, says: "Our estimates of earthly life vary according to our positions and experience. To one, life is a 'vale of tears.' . . . To another, life is a pilgrimage to a better country. . . . To a third, life is only an 'inscrutable mystery.' . . . Others will tell you that 'life is a great game'—that it is a brief 'gala day'—and so on, through the whole range of metaphor and symbolry. But when it is declared that life is a battle, a statement is made that appeals to every one. . . . As our experience deepens we realize that the whole world is one vast encampment, and that every man and woman is a soldier."¹¹² Rich and poor, educated and ignorant, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, alike recognize the fitness of the figure. Old age gathers up profoundest philosophy from its wealth of experience and epitomizes it all in the statement, "life is a battle," and even childhood understands.

"'What is Life, father?'

'A Battle, my child,

Where the strongest lance may fail,

Where the wariest eyes may be beguiled,

And the stoutest heart may quail.

Where the foes are gathered on every hand

And rest not day or night,

And the feeble little ones must stand

In the thickest of the fight.' "¹¹³

Indeed there is no figure so literally true to life, so close to fact, as this, that life is a struggle and a warfare.

3. *The martial note in great hymns.*

Hymnology follows homiletics in its frequent allusions to the soldier type. From Luther's *Ein Feste Burg*, which Heine

¹¹¹Phillips Brooks: *Sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston.*

¹¹²Mrs. Mary A. Livermore: *The Battle of Life.*

¹¹³Adelaide Anne Proctor: *Life and Death.*

describes as "the Marsellaise of the Reformation,"¹¹⁴ ("God Almighty's Grenadier March," as Carlyle called it),¹¹⁵ down to Baring-Gould's *Onward Christian Soldiers*, George Duffield's *Stand up, Stand up for Jesus*, and Reginald Heber's *The Son of God goes forth to War*, not a few of the great hymns, which have stirred the heart and nerved the will to action, have been keyed to a martial note.

For instance, let us take one of the best of our modern hymnals (*The Pilgrim Hymnal*, edited by my good friend, Charles L. Noyes), and from it cull out just a few of the military hymns. Besides the hymns mentioned above, we find one by St. Andrew of Crete (660-732), beginning,

"Christian, dost thou see them?

Christian, up and smite them."¹¹⁶

Then there is Charles Wesley's

"Soldiers of Christ, arise
And put your armor on."¹¹⁷

The familiar hymn of George Heath, 1781,

"My soul, be on thy guard,
Ten thousand foes arise,"

is also here.¹¹⁸

"Brightly gleams our banner" is another familiar hymn.¹¹⁹

One of the best is Samuel Longfellow's

"God's trumpet wakes the slumbering world;
Now each man to his post."¹²⁰

Best of all in this collection, in my judgment, is Ernest W. Shurtleff's

"Lead on, O King Eternal,
The day of march has come."¹²¹

Nor should we forget the hymn of John Addington Symonds, "These Things Shall Be." Mention should also be

¹¹⁴Spargo: *Karl Marx*, 24; *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 801.

¹¹⁵Carlyle: *Frederick the Great*, I, 322.

¹¹⁶*Pilgrim Hymnal*, No. 815.

¹¹⁷The same, No. 318.

¹¹⁸The same, No. 320.

¹¹⁹The same, No. 324.

¹²⁰The same, No. 327.

¹²¹The same, No. 322.

made of the hymn, "Hear, O Ye Nations," which Frederick L. Hosmer wrote for the Second National Peace Congress:

"Hear, hear, O ye Nations, and hearing obey
The cry from the past and the call of to-day!
Earth wearies and wastes with her fresh life outpoured,
With glut of the cannon, and spoil of the sword.

"A new era opens, transcending the old,
It calls for new leaders, for new ranks enrolled;
From war's grim tradition it maketh appeal,
To service of man in the world's commonweal.

"The workers afield, in the mill and the mart,
In commerce, in council, in science and art,
Shall bring of their gifts and together create,
The manifold life of the firm-built State.

"And more shall the triumph of right over wrong,
Be shield to the weak and a curb to the strong,
When counsel prevails and, the battle-flags furled,
The High Court of Nations gives law to the world.

"And Thou, O my Country, from many made one,
Last born of the nations, at morning Thy sun,
Arise to the place Thou art given to fill,
And lead the world-triumph of peace and good-will."¹²²

Moreover, it is significant that a large number of once familiar and popular hymns have fallen into conspicuous disuse. I refer to that class of hymns which admonished men to escape from perdition regardless of whether other men might be perishing or not. Instead of tolerating such extremely selfish individualism to-day, hymnody directs its efforts to emphasizing that we are "Saved to Serve"; and the generous space accorded to hymns of service in any modern hymnal is encouraging, since it indicates that religious minstrelsy is being humanized and socialized.

4. *Biography and the military type.*

Biography adds its voice to homiletics and hymnology. The early martyrs, the reformers who ushered in new epochs in history, the Pilgrim and Puritan of the old world and the new,

¹²²Frederick L. Hosmer, in *Proceedings of Second National Peace Congress*, Chicago, 1909, p. 8.

all breathed essentially a soldier morality. Some of the choicest characters the world has known have been men who actually lived a soldier life and formed the soldier habit. Claudius, of Northern Italy, was a soldier for a time, as was also Zwingli.¹²³ Loyola, too, as we have seen, was a soldier until so severely wounded that he could no longer serve. Such men could have said:

"But as a soldier I the mail put on

Now for a higher aim the sword be drawn."¹²⁴

Concerning Saint Francis of Assisi, Sabatier says: "They have written a life of Saint Francis as a bard, they would have been able to write it better as a knight, for this is the explanation of all his life and as the heart of his heart."¹²⁵

"He who seemed a soldier born,
He should have the helmet worn,
All friends to fend, all foes defy,
Fronting foes of God and man,
Frowning down the evil-doer,
Battling for the weak and poor." (Emerson.)

The "Christian Soldier" type has been embodied in such men as Sir Henry Havelock, "Chinese" Gordon, Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Oliver Otis Howard. Their soldierly self-discipline helped to make them the splendid Christians that they were rated.¹²⁶

Robertson, of Brighton, was one of the most soldierly souls that ever lived. He owed not a little to the early years of his life which were spent in barracks.¹²⁷ His father was a captain in the Royal Artillery. Two of his brothers won hon-

¹²³*Lives of Leaders*, I, 158.

¹²⁴Goethe: *Faust*, Part II, 244.

¹²⁵Sabatier: *Vie de St. Francois*, 145.

¹²⁶Though they would have been far more consistent followers of the Prince of Peace if they never had drawn sword. It is impossible for us to think of Jesus as wearing the accoutrements of a soldier. Had he been a military man he would not be called "Christ" by so many millions to-day. The spirit of Jesus is essentially unlike the spirit of military soldierdom. "Contending nations and armies violate every precept of the gospel. Rehearse all the catalogue of graces, and mark how we are enjoined to be meek, lowly, peaceable, easy to be entreated, gentle—merciful, slow to anger, given to quietness, patience, temperance,—War sets them all at naught!" (Howard Malcolm: *War Inconsistent with Christianity*, see Tract No. XVI in *The Book of Peace*.) Take Sir Henry Havelock's case, for example. We find him thanking God that he has been allowed to realize the darling ambition of his life, namely, to command victorious troops in battle. Is this the spirit of him who "came not to destroy men's lives but to save them"? (*Luke 9:56*). How could a man be filled with the spirit of him who said "put up thy sword" (*John 18:11*) and "love your enemies" (*Matt. 5:44*), and carry out military orders to "disperse and utterly destroy all mutineers and insurgents"? (*Encyc. Brit.*, art. "Havelock," XI, 526). Has not the "Christian soldier" business been overdone, and have not "Christian soldiers" been over-rated as Christians?

¹²⁷See Brastow: *Representative Modern Preachers*, 54.

orable mention in the Kaffir War, and another brother was a captain in the Royal South Lincoln Militia. As a boy, he loved to fancy himself a knight, seeking adventure, redressing wrong."¹²⁸ An enthusiasm for military life was literally born in him. "I was rocked and cradled," so he wrote, "to the roar of artillery, and the very name of such things sounds to me like home. A review . . . impresses me to tears; I cannot see a regiment manoeuvre, nor artillery in motion, without a choking sensation."¹²⁹ He planned to enter the army. Says his biographer: "The trained obedience of an army to one head, harmonized with his own strong conception of the beauty of order and the dignity of duty. All the impulses of his character to self-sacrifice, chivalry, daring, romantic adventure, the conquest of oppression, the living of life intensely, he looked forward to satisfying as a soldier."¹³⁰ When Robertson was ordained, the text of the ordination sermon was "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."¹³¹ More than once, he felt that in entering the ministry instead of the army, he had mistaken his profession. To friends he remarked that he "would rather lead a forlorn hope than mount the pulpit stairs."¹³² From the Tyrol, where Hofer had been governor, he wrote: "I drew his sword, and almost felt that it was done with a soldier's feeling."¹³³ Says Stopford Brooke: "Men still recall the deep, almost stern enthusiasm of joy with which he spoke of the great obedience of the soldiers who died in the wreck of the *Birkenhead*."¹³⁴ On one occasion he wrote: "I wish I had been with my own gallant, wondrous regiment in that campaign."¹³⁵ And these are his words again: "As I walked home in my dragoon cloak, I thought that I ought to be at this moment lying in it at rest at Moodkee, where the Third fought so gallantly, and where spots of brighter green than usual are the only record to mark where the flesh of heroes is melting into its kindred dust again."¹³⁶ He reaches the very height of his eloquence "in describing the glorious deaths of the heroes of Trukkee, the gathering of the bravest in battle round the torn colours which sym-

¹²⁸ Brooke: *Life of Robertson*, I, 1-2, 4.

¹²⁹ The same, I, 9.

¹³⁰ The same, I, 11.

¹³¹ The same, I, 55.

¹³² The same, I, 96.

¹³³ The same, I, 116.

¹³⁴ The same, I, 190.

¹³⁵ The same, I, 269.

¹³⁶ The same, I, 291.

bolize courage and honour, and the chivalry of war in contrast with a selfish and ignoble peace."¹³⁷ In all his honest, fearless thinking, in his risking and abandon, in his self-forgetful self-sacrifices, Robertson ever was essentially a soldier. This is the key-note of his character.¹³⁸

5. *Religion set forth in terms of personal relation.*

Then, again, this conception of the religious life as a military service meets the demand of to-day that religious truth shall be expressed in terms of personal relation. Personality is the great psychological word in our day. Things, doctrines, systems of thought, are less important than personality. As President Henry Churchill King so well says: "There is no greater need, in religious living and theological thinking to-day, than a thorough-going and consistent hold on . . . religion as a personal relation to God."¹³⁹ And an English contemporary writes: "Religion is a great force, but it requires a personality to exhibit that force. It is not in theories, nor in arguments, nor in controversies that its real power is manifest, but in the lives of men."¹⁴⁰ "Our ultimate standard of worth is an ideal of *personal* worth. All other values are relative to value for, of, or in a person. To speak of any progress or improvement or development of a nation or society or mankind, except as relative to some greater worth of persons, is to use words without meaning. . . . The spiritual progress of mankind is . . . an unmeaning phrase, unless it means a progress of personal character and *to* personal character—a progress of which feeling, thinking and willing subjects are the agents and sustainers, and of which each step is a fuller realization of the capacities of such subjects. It is simply unintelligible unless understood to be in the direction of more perfect forms of personal life."¹⁴¹ The contemplation of the religious man as a soldier, as one enlisted under God in the moral warfare against wrong, seems to meet the demand of an age that is rejecting the dogmatic, the mechanical, the sacerdotal, and insisting on the personal, the vital, the practical.

6. *Soldierly religion in harmony with the spirit of the times.*

¹³⁷The same, II, 90.

¹³⁸Compare the same, I, 55.

¹³⁹King: *Reconstruction in Theology*, 200.

¹⁴⁰Carpenter: *Permanent Elements of Religion*, 246.

¹⁴¹Thomas Hill Green: *Prolegomena to Ethics*; see Rand: *The Classical Moralists*, 744, 746.

Phillips Brooks used to say, "God pity the man that does not appreciate the spirit of his own age." No man can hope for a hearing to-day who does not know the habits of thought of to-day and who cannot express himself in terms of present-day thought. But what is the spirit of to-day? Let us listen to Professor Eucken's description of the Greeks when Greece was in its best days: "Nothing about the Greeks impresses one more than their great energy of life, the strong impetus towards the development of every faculty, the youthful, ever-fresh pleasure in creative activity."¹⁴² I like to think that this characterization of the ancient Greeks is descriptive of our own times. Certainly the spirit of the age is strenuousness.¹⁴³ Men, nations, business, politics, literature, all live the strenuous life. Great business men are styled "Captains of Finance." Labor is organized into armies. Life all along the line is strenuous and militaristic; the pace is set, the demands are inexorable. As my good friend, Daniel Evans, says: "We are believers in the positive life. We love the heroic. . . . We want to be something. We have little sympathy with the desire to be nothing. And we go in for the strenuous thing."¹⁴⁴ If a kingdom of righteousness is to be realized, then the religion of to-day and to-morrow must needs be of such strenuousness that it shall appeal to and conquer men of strenuous thinking and strenuous acting. Men, as never before, are insisting that religion shall have reality, simplicity, virility and fraternity, and by these things prove its divinity.

If the church is not gaining ground, is it not because our religion is not militant enough, our love not sufficiently athletic and soldierly? The church, perhaps, has been too much a hospital. It should be less like a hospital and more like an army in the field. The church of to-morrow will be a mighty army of righteousness. The religionist of to-morrow will conform more to the soldier type.

"Doubtless his church will be no hospital
 For superannuate forms and mumping shams,

 Nor his religion but an ambulance

¹⁴²Eucken: *Problem of Human Life*, 4.

¹⁴³Read, for example, Roosevelt: *The Strenuous Life*.

¹⁴⁴Prof. Daniel Evans: *The Ethics of Jesus*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, IV, 422.

To fetch life's wounded and malingerers in,
Scorned by the strong."¹⁴⁵

"Scorned by the strong!" What is wrong? Here is the church sorely needing the strong; and the strong, too often, seem to have little but scorn for her and hers. Why? Because religion, men think, is good enough for the weak, the sick, the dying, or for the people who fail. But to the ones who are neither sick, dying, weak nor defeated, religion seems to offer little. Why not hold up such a manly type of religion and ideals of such strenuousness, that every person who has a particle of the hero spirit in him must needs accept the challenge? Why not appeal to the young Philip Sidneys of our day who are saying in their heart of hearts: "If there are any good wars, I shall go to them."¹⁴⁶ The militant type of religion is such a "good war," and we must help the young Sidneys to find this out. At a recent commencement in one of our great colleges, a spirited poem was read by a member of the graduating class. Nothing made a deeper impression at that commencement. And no wonder, for here are a couple of stanzas:—

"There's a trampling of hoofs in the busy street,
There's a clanking of sabres on floor and stair,
There's a sound of restless, hurrying feet,
Of voices that whisper, of lips that entreat,
Will they live, will they die, will they strive, will they dare?
The houses are garlanded, flags flutter gay,
For a troop of the Guard rides forth to-day.

"On, up! Boot and saddle! Give spurs to your steeds!
There's a city beleaguered that cries for men's deeds;
For the faith that is strength and the love that is God!
On through the dawning! Humanity calls!
Life's not a dream in the clover!
On to the walls, on to the walls,
On to the walls, and over!"¹⁴⁷

7. *Organized evil makes necessary a militant and organized righteousness.*

Evil is mighty to-day and is powerfully organized. Such

¹⁴⁵Lowell: *The Cathedral*, Works, X, 57.

¹⁴⁶George William Curtis: *Sir Philip Sidney*.

¹⁴⁷Hermann Hagedorn, Jr.: *Harvard Class Day Poem*; 1907; see *Boston Transcript*, June 21, 1907.

strenuous and organized wickedness can be overmatched only by a strenuous and organized righteousness. "Zeal must be met by zeal," cried Dominic, as he flung himself into the task of organizing the Black Friars.¹⁴⁸ Or to quote the words of Edmund Burke: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."¹⁴⁹ Theodore Parker used to say that it is the mission of America to organize the rights of man.¹⁵⁰ Similarly we may say that it is the high mission of truly religious men to organize righteousness. This is the task of our day.

8. *The soldier's life full of useful and stimulating illustrations.*

Some may think, possibly, that this sketching of the religious person as a soldier is purely fanciful, and argue that there is no real connection between the two characters. Hence, to such, the time spent in reading this study seems wasted. Patience! Possibly the quest may not be so utterly fruitless. "All the various departments of human knowledge are so related to each other as to form parts of an organic whole. There is a 'unity of the sciences' in virtue of which one depends upon and grows out of another."¹⁵¹ Eagerly and perseveringly did the philosophers seek for an underlying unity.¹⁵² What the philosophers missed because they lacked sufficient data, the scientists have brought to light. Humboldt, in his *Cosmos*, pioneered the way, when he spoke of "a unity in diversity of phenomena; a harmony blending together all created things, however dissimilar in form and attributes." Our modern evolutionary science furnishes illustrations without number of this principle enunciated in the *Cosmos*, illustrations that would have astonished Humboldt himself, daring pioneer thinker that he was. And we are not done, even yet. Probably we have but just begun to master the alphabet of wonders. Whether light and electricity shall be found to be one and the same thing; whether the life principle itself some day shall be identified with electricity; whether the search for a primal matter may one day be rewarded, it is a little too early to say.¹⁵³ We are fully warranted, however, in

¹⁴⁸Green: *Short History of the English People*, 172.

¹⁴⁹Edmund Burke: *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*.

¹⁵⁰Theodore Parker: *Discourses on Politics*, Works, Cobbe edition, IV, 88.

¹⁵¹Anderson: *The Larger Faith*, 121.

¹⁵²Read Haffding: *History of Modern Philosophy*.

¹⁵³But read Carl Snyder: *New Conceptions in Science*; and *The Hibbert Journal*, January, 1912, 308.

saying that all facts of life and knowledge are bound together. If one is a good scientist and philosopher by so much ought he to be the better theologian. What Professor James recommends to the philosopher is equally well worth heeding by the theologian, namely, "the example of the sister sciences, interpreting the unobserved by the observed."¹⁸⁴

Whatever, therefore, will afford a new vantage-point from which to view old truths is not to be despised. Let one master the laws of music, or of painting, and he will better understand the fundamental laws of harmony and obedience. A Ruskin masters the details of architecture and straightway falls a preaching. A Drummond peers through the biologist's microscope and his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* links science and religion, and both science and religion shine forth more clearly for the union. For nature is preaching to us ten thousand sermons if we but have eyes to see and ears to hear. Jesus's choice parables were romantic with nature and the everyday. "All things in nature," wrote Tertullian, "are prophetic outlines of divine operations, God not merely *speaking* parables, but doing them."¹⁸⁵ And blind Milton saw truly when he sang:

"What if earth
Be but the shadow of heaven, and things therein,
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought."

If, then, as scientists have argued¹⁸⁶ and bards have sung, an essential unity underlies all life, then may we legitimately think that the well established principles of one branch of human knowledge may, possibly, furnish some light on other problems less clearly understood. If we study the spider's web in our path, perhaps it may suggest to us how to build suspension bridges. If we watch the tea-kettle, a steam engine some day may be the result. Begin with what we know, or what is available, and we shall go on to learn more. The way to master great problems is to commence at the small end.¹⁸⁷ *Ab uno disce omnes*. From one learn all.¹⁸⁸ It is on this assumption that this study is prepared. We know what makes a soldier successful. From this may we not learn how to become

¹⁸⁴James: *Pragmatism*, 69.

¹⁸⁵See Trench: *Parables*, 17, note.

¹⁸⁶Smyth: *Through Science to Faith*, 12.

¹⁸⁷Brooke Herford: *Small End of Great Problems*.

¹⁸⁸March: *Thesaurus*, 1.

successful soldiers of righteousness? The religious life may be studied to advantage from such view-points as are afforded by any of the great activities of men, and our faith vision will be the clearer for the study. Says Professor Genung: "Let us not make light of the analogies, the concrete images, by which men hew their ideals to practical use. Let us not call their values small because these happen to be literary values. Think how immensely men have profited, through all the years, by imagining themselves as . . . fighting a battle."¹⁵⁹

If war should cease this day and cease forever, if the soldier should march from the centre of the stage which he has so long occupied, and if Othello should pass from sight nevermore to return except in literature, still the historic soldier would be a fascinating and rewarding character to study, and the vanished warfare would still have its lessons for us; even as knighthood furnishes, to this day, some of the most inspiring and useful models after which to fashion some of our boys' organizations, etc. The old chivalry died even before Cervantes' time, but true chivalry lives on and will never die.¹⁶⁰ So, too, the military type will live on after international warfare shall have ceased.

9. *The demand for heroes perpetual.*

Even in an age of world-wide peace, with all the help that we can get from improved machinery, we shall continue to need men who are willing to put their lives in jeopardy for the common good. As John D. Long says: "It takes more courage to run a locomotive seventy miles an hour than it does to be one of 100,000 men on a battlefield. The miner a thousand feet underground, amid damps and falling walls of rock, the faithful policeman, the supremely heroic fireman, is in more danger than a sailor on an ironclad at Manila or Santiago. More lives are lost in a steamboat explosion than Arnold lost in his midnight attack on Quebec. Life is full, though war cease, of adventure, of danger, of opportunities for heroic deeds, for the sacrifice of life if need be for country and humanity. Let the young reader have no fear that there are not always worlds to conquer and glory to win. . . . The great thing is to put the heroic qualities, which the boy admires in the men of whom he reads in famous battles, into the boy himself when he shall take part in the battle of life. These are not battles of armed ranks against

¹⁵⁹Genung: *Hebrew Literature of Wisdom*, 315-16.

¹⁶⁰Compare E. H. Chapin: *Modern Chivalry*.

armed ranks, they are not battles where uniforms glitter and bugles ring, and shot and shell carry havoc; but they are battles of honor in daily life, of honesty against temptation to dishonesty, of purity of life against corrupting blight, of faithful endeavor under difficulties, of steady pursuit of good ends, and of high, noble, manly character. In these may we all, fighting famous battles, win famous victories."¹⁶¹

The soldier spirit can find ample outlet in the occupations which jeopardize life and limb, and in waging the battles of the higher soldiery. The religious life is essentially heroic. To borrow the thought of Eucken: "Its heroism is radically different from the ancient heroism; it is a heroism of the inner nature, and of simple humanity, a heroism in little things, a greatness arising from joyous faith and ungrudging self-sacrifice."¹⁶² To resist the temptations of the times, to be loyal to one's ideals, loyal to one's fellows, will challenge the stoutest heart and steadiest brain. And this is religion. Fine tribute that, which Victor Hugo pays to a certain character! "To combat Pharisaism; to unmask imposture; to overthrow tyrannies, usurpations, prejudices, falsehoods, superstitions; to demolish the temple in order to rebuild it, that is to say, to replace the false by the true; to attack a ferocious magistracy, a sanguinary priesthood; to take a whip and drive the money-changers from the sanctuary; to reclaim the heritage of the disinherited; to protect the weak, the poor, the suffering, the overwhelmed, to struggle for the persecuted and oppressed—that was the war of Jesus Christ."¹⁶³ Plenty of this kind of war remains to be fought, even though we relegate cannon and torpedo to dusty museums and grim chambers of horrors! "Isn't there enough unconquered evil left in the world to satisfy all the fighting-blood in my veins?" The answer is, "Yes! A thousand times, yes!" As Sheridan said to a straggler who could not find his own company, "Pitch in anywhere; there's fighting enough all along the line."¹⁶⁴

Thus, though the soldier is to pass, the soldier spirit necessarily will ever abide among men. Strenuousness, idealism, rigid self-discipline, the jeopardizing of life and limb for worthy ends, loyalty to leadership—these things will never die out. They will always appeal to men. Men love dash and heroism, men will

¹⁶¹John D. Long in Vol. XVI of *Young Folks' Library*, intro. xvii-xviii.

¹⁶²Eucken: *Problem of Human Life*, 148-9.

¹⁶³Victor Hugo: *Voltaire*.

¹⁶⁴*Christian Endeavor World*, April 5, 1905.

ever court danger, men will always play with death, because, I suppose, we are all of us born with more or less of the hero and martyr in our blood. But all this can exist and be cultivated without strife. The soldier spirit will find ample outlets in ways that are worthy instead of insane, useful instead of wasteful. And if the long dreary centuries of bloodshed shall give us a virile, soldiery type of character, they will not have been all a useless and meaningless waste. I am tempted to say that such a type of manhood would be worth such awful cost.

10. *Certain great movements prophetic of a substitution of religion for war.*

War and religion seem always to have been closely bound up together. Allusion has been made to Mithraism, and we have seen that it distinctly embodied the military idea so that "above all it was popular in the army. . . . One of the first stages in the initiation, for men, consisted in the devotee receiving a sword, and being called a soldier of Mithra. Thus Mithraism was specially the faith of the soldiery; and in doing honor to the invincible sun-god Mithra . . . the Emperor Constantine vied with the most loyal Mithraist long after his so-called conversion to Christianity."¹⁰⁶

Concerning Mohammedanism we are told: "Every major Moslem fit for military service is in duty bound to participate in holy wars against infidels who will not submit to the dominion of Moslems. . . . In accordance with the letter of the Koran, . . . war against non-Mohammedans is declared permanent. . . . Therefore, in earlier times, when the Islamitic powers decided to discontinue hostilities, they simply concluded a truce."¹⁰⁶ Says Milman: "The Koran was a declaration of war against mankind. . . . Religious war is the duty, the glory, assures the beatitude of the true believer. . . . What may be considered the dying words, the solemn bequest of Mohammed to mankind, were, 'O true believers! Wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you, and know that God is with them that fear him.'"¹⁰⁷ In Mohammedanism, then, we find religion and war inextricably inter-

¹⁰⁶*Religious Systems of the World*, 208; comp. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapters XX and XXVIII; Tertullian, *De Corona*, XV; Garucci: *Mysteres du Syncretisme Phrygien*, 1854, p. 84.

¹⁰⁶McClintock and Strong, VI, 417.

¹⁰⁷Milman: *Latin Christianity*, II, 141, 142, 143, 108-172.

twined. To use the words of Mohammed: "The sword is the key of Heaven and of Hell."¹⁶⁸

One of the most interesting institutions of all the centuries was chivalry. After the crusades one of the avowed features of chivalry was religion. The investiture of the knight corresponded to the ordination of the priest.¹⁶⁹ Among the Saxons, investiture was preceded by a confession of sin and other religious rites, and the order of knighthood was received at the hands of a priest. "The sword was blessed by the priest, before it was delivered to the young warrior."¹⁷⁰ Chivalry came to be regarded as the Holy Order. "The knightly and clerical characters were everywhere considered as convertible, and the writers of romances faithfully reflected manners, when their hero at the commencement of the tale was a Sir Knight, and when at the close of the quests we find him a Sir Priest."¹⁷¹

Let us look next at the crusades. Military Christianity, as we are told by the historian, Lecky, attained its climax at the crusades.¹⁷² Chivalry also reached its very height during this movement.¹⁷³ Salvation was promised to those who took the cross.¹⁷⁴ Peter the Hermit and others preached the crusades with a religious fervor that was almost irresistibly hypnotic.¹⁷⁵ Unquestionably there were other motives than the religious which were held out. Hallam tells us that in the "later periods the temporal benefits of undertaking a crusade undoubtedly blended themselves with less selfish consideration. Men resorted to Palestine, as in modern times they have done to the colonies, in order to redeem their fame, or repair their fortune. . . . To the more vulgar class were held out inducements, which, though absorbed in the overruling fanaticism of the first crusade, might be exceedingly efficacious when it began to flag. During the time that a crusader bore the cross he was free from suit for his debts, and the interest of them was entirely abolished; he was exempted, in some instances at least, from taxes, and placed under the protection of the church, so that he could not be impleaded in any civil court, except on criminal charges, or disputes relating to land."¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁸See Nitobe: *Bushido*, 131.

¹⁶⁹See Hallam: *Middle Ages*, II, 508-581.

¹⁷⁰Mills: *History of Chivalry*, I, 11, 12, 50.

¹⁷¹The same, I, 13-14; comp. Spenser: *Faerie Queene*, book v, canto 5, st, 37.

¹⁷²Lecky: *History of European Morals*, Preface, x.

¹⁷³See Hallam: *Middle Ages*, I, 62.

¹⁷⁴Cox: *The Crusades*, 28.

¹⁷⁵See the same, 31.

¹⁷⁶Hallam: *Middle Ages*, I, 47.

The lamentable truth about the crusades is summed up for us by Judge William Jay: "In obedience to the exhortations, and prompted by the promises of the church, literally millions set off for the conquest of the Holy Land, first marking their garments with the emblem of salvation. The assured absolution of crimes seems to have led to their indefinite multiplication. Never before or since has Europe witnessed such a horde of plunderers and murderers as these soldiers of the cross. The poet and the novelist, the sculptor and the painter, have conspired to array the crusader with holy zeal, and a noble heroism; but the relentless hand of the faithful historian tears from him his brilliant disguises, and exhibits him as a sanguinary ruffian, at once the slave of superstition and of passion. If the accounts given by contemporary writers, of the extreme profligacy of the great mass of the crusaders be entitled to credit . . . in morals, humanity, and good faith, the Christian invaders of Syria were surpassed by its Mohammedan defenders."¹⁷⁷

In spite of the horrid miscarriage of morality in the crusades, the point in which we are here interested is that they started as a religious movement. Moreover, they "gave rise to two orders of military friars: the Knights of the Temple, and the Knights of St. John, afterwards known as the Knights of Malta. These were peculiarly the soldiers of the church. They assumed various religious vows, devoted themselves to war, and received from popes and councils, honors and privileges. The Knights of Malta at one time took the diabolical oath, never to make peace with infidels."¹⁷⁸

Another interesting military religious movement found embodiment under Cromwell. In his Ironsides we see Protestantism booted and spurred. For his famous squadrons, the Protector accepted only those "who had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did."¹⁷⁹ He compiled a "Soldier's Pocket Bible" for the use of his troopers, "containing the most (if not all) those places contained in Holy Scriptures which do show the qualifications of his inner man, that is a fit soldier to fight the Lord's Battles."¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately war even under Cromwell descended, at times, to the very depths

¹⁷⁷Judge Wm. Jay: *Address before American Peace Society*, 1845, 9.

¹⁷⁸The same, 10; Compare Cox: *The Crusades*, 113; Mills: *History of Christianity*, I, 383. Walker: *A History of the Law of Nations*, I, 870.

¹⁷⁹*Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 812.

¹⁸⁰Waylen: *Mountain Pathways*, 85-86.

of blood-shedding. As the scholarly Larned tells us: "The savage massacres which he (Cromwell) personally ordered at Drogheda and permitted at Wexford have left a stain on his memory too black to be effaced by his own defense of them, . . . that they would tend to prevent the future shedding of blood, by their terrorizing effect."¹⁸¹ I am not discussing Cromwell here except to call to mind that religion was no small factor in Ironside-ism.

Let us next turn our attention to certain religious organizations designed not to wield a material sword but to be a spiritual soldiery. As chief among these we must refer again to the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits. Loyola's society was organized September 3, 1539.¹⁸² "On September 27, 1540, the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* was published, confirming the new order. . . . In the Latin translation of the original draft constitutions, approved by the pope, the word *compania* was represented by *societas*, though *cohors* or some such military term would have more exactly reproduced the founder's idea."¹⁸³ The Jesuits were intended to be the militia of the Holy See.¹⁸⁴ Mobility and cosmopolitanism were the new features differentiating the new order from the existing monastic communities. The reason why Ignatius chose "the military word 'company,' rather than 'Order' or 'Congregation,'" was, as he explained to Paul III, because, while "the ancient communities were, so to speak, the infantry of the church, whose duty it was to stand firmly in one place on the battlefield, the Jesuits, contrariwise, were to be the 'light horse,' capable of going anywhere at a moment's notice."¹⁸⁵ The central idea was that a perpetual warfare was to be waged, in which success could be attained only through implicit obedience to orders. These are the founder's instructions to his followers: "To those who ask us what we are, we will reply, we are the Soldiers of the Holy Church, and we form the Society of Jesus."¹⁸⁶ We have not time to trace the later history of the Jesuits. Suffice it to say that they were the chief strength of the Catholic church when wounded so sorely by the Protestant Reformation, and that Jesuit missionaries have circled the globe in their zeal. Witness their early efforts in Japan. Or read once more Park-

¹⁸¹Larned: *A Study of Greatness in Men*, 139.

¹⁸²*Cambridge Modern History*, II, 33.

¹⁸³*Encyc. Brit.*, XIII, 653.

¹⁸⁴*Cambridge Modern History*, II, 653-4.

¹⁸⁵*Encyc. Brit.*, XIII, 646.

¹⁸⁶Daurignac: *History of the Society of Jesus*, I, 11-12; quo. in Thompson: *In the Footprints of the Jesuits*, 44.



man's fascinating volume on *The Jesuits in North America*. They have indeed been singularly faithful to their mission to be a mobile ecclesiastical soldiery.

Twenty years ago the Boys' Brigade movement swept over the Christian world. In George Adam Smith's *Life of Henry Drummond* we find an admirable and fascinating explanation of the "B. B." idea, in Drummond's own words. The movement avowedly was religious. It aimed at getting some religion into youngsters while they were at "Tenshun!"¹⁸⁷ But the Boys' Brigade wave receded.

Those who enlisted in Tauler's "Friends of God" and Zinzendorf's "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed" were determined to "live the life" at whatever hurt to themselves.¹⁸⁸ The itinerancy of Wesleyanism and Methodism is at least semi-military. And the Salvation Army and Volunteers of America not only have organized themselves on a military basis, but, to keep the thought always before their members and the public, have adopted a military plan of organization, and even the uniforms and brass bands of soldierdom.

I should like to refer to an institution which, if not religious, at least had the spirit which is at the core of vital religion. I refer to Bushido, "the Soul of Japan," as Dr. Nitobe calls it. It was a system of chivalry of a very high order. The word *Bushido* literally means *Military-Knight-Ways*, or Precepts of Knighthood, the *noblesse oblige* of the Samurai or warrior class.¹⁸⁹ The world never has seen anything finer, in the way of a nationalized chivalry, than the rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honor, self-control and self-sacrifice of the Samurai. One of the most fascinating little books of our generation is Dr. Nitobe's *Bushido*.

So altogether thrilling is the story of this now vanishing oriental system, so uniquely admirable is its spirit, that a brilliant Englishman has held up the ideal of an order of the Samurai among western peoples. This idea is the child of the brain of H. G. Wells, who expounds his plan in his *Anticipations*, *Mankind in the Making*, *Modern Utopia*, and his *First and Last Things*.¹⁹¹ The romantic scheme implies a voluntary nobility for

¹⁸⁷George Adam Smith: *Life of Henry Drummond*.

¹⁸⁸Ernest Thompson Seaton: *Boy Scouts of America*, 13.

¹⁸⁹*Lives of Leaders of the Church Universal*, I, 221-3, II, 475.

¹⁹⁰See Nitobe: *Bushido*, 4.

¹⁹¹See Wells: *First and Last Things*, 173-186.

the practice of clean, resolute, self-mastered living. The plan is not the formal organization of a society within society, but rather as "an ideal of attitude."¹⁹²

A most interesting attempt at soldierly living and the attainment of real results is the "Brotherhood of the Kingdom," a group of earnest religious workers banded together to help to establish a righteous society at whatever cost to themselves. Such men as Leighton Williams, and the choice kindred souls grouped with him, conceived such a movement and selected the name. Their piety is a most refreshing and prophetic type of Christian militancy.

Thus we see that, all down through the centuries, in different countries and different sects, the idea of spiritual soldier-ship again and again reasserts itself. Sometimes, as we have seen, it miscarries in crude, blind blood-spilling. Sometimes it gets down to the real thing. But, back of error or clearness of vision, lies the universal feeling that, in loyalty to his ideal, the religionist should be as rigidly self-unsparing as the soldier. And this feeling should, and probably will, find new and better exemplification as the centuries roll by.

II. *The higher soldiership in poetry.*

If an age has any true prophets, some of them will be found among the poets. What say the poets concerning the higher soldiership?

In Tennyson's *Holy Grail* is a description of the symbolic sculpture round the Hall of Merlin, summarizing the development of man:

"In the lowest beasts are slaying men,
And in the second men are slaying beasts;
And on the third are warriors, perfect men,
And on the fourth men with growing wings."¹⁹³

I like to interpret in a spiritual sense the words which Browning puts upon the lips of Strafford:

"I want a little strife: real strife;
This petty palace-warfare does me harm,
I shall be better, fairly out of it.

.

I have a foe

¹⁹²The same, 186.

¹⁹³Tennyson: *Holy Grail*; see Masterman: *Tennyson as a Religious Teacher*, 114, 175.

To close with, and a fight to fight at last
Worthy of my soul!"¹⁹⁴

Longfellow, in his *Psalm of Life*, exhorts us,
"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life
Be not like dumb driven cattle,
Be a hero in the strife."¹⁹⁵

Whittier's *Moral Warfare* is a stirring bugle note for the times:

"Our fathers to their graves have gone,
Their strife is past,—their triumph won;
But sterner trials wait the race
Which rises in their honored place,—
A moral warfare with the crime
And folly of an evil time."¹⁹⁶

Whitman again and again trumpets forth the same call to the higher soldiership. Listen to his words:

"As I pondered in silence,
Returning upon my poems, considering, lingering long,
A Phantom arose before me, with distrustful aspect,
Terrible in beauty, age, and power,
The genius of poets of old lands,
As to me directing like flame its eyes,
With finger pointing to many immortal songs,
And menacing voice, *What singest thou?* it said;
Know'st thou not, there is but one theme for ever enduring bards?
And that is the theme of war, the fortune of battles,
The making of perfect soldiers?
Be it so, then I answered,
I too, haughty Shade, also sing war—and a longer and greater
one than any,
Waged in my book with varying fortune—with flight, advance,
and retreat—victory deferr'd and wavering,
(Yet, methinks, certain, or as good as certain, at the last)—The
field of the world;
For life and death—for the Body, and for the eternal Soul,
Lo! I too am come, chanting the chant of battles,

¹⁹⁴Browning: *Works*, Camberwell edition, II, 37, 40.

¹⁹⁵Longfellow: *Psalm of Life*.

¹⁹⁶Whittier: *The Moral Warfare*.

I, above all, promote brave soldiers."¹⁹⁷

And again he sings:

"I am myself the real soldier;
It is not he, there, with the bayonet, and not the red-striped artilleryman."¹⁹⁸

And this is the way he sings his *Adieu to a Soldier*:

"Adieu, O soldier!
You of the rapid campaigning, (which we shared)
The rapid march, the life of the camp,
The hot contention of opposing fronts—the long manoeuvre,
Red battles with their slaughter,—the stimulus—the strong, terrific game,
Spell of all brave and manly hearts—the trains of Time through you, and like of you, all fill'd
With war, and war's expression.

"Adieu, dear comrade!
Your mission is fulfill'd—but I, more warlike,
Myself, and this contentious soul of mine,
Still on our own campaigning bound,
Through untried roads, with ambushes, opponents lined,
Through many a sharp defeat and many a crisis—often baffled,
Here marching, ever marching on, a war fight out—aye here,
To fiercer, weightier battles give expression."¹⁹⁹

Equally challenging is Ernest Crosby's *Democracy*.
"Clear the field for the grand tournament of the nations—
The struggle to think the best thought and to express it in tone
and colour and form and word,—
The struggle to do the greatest deeds and lead the noblest and
most useful lives,—
The struggle to see clearest and know truest and love strongest.
Your other blood and bludgeon contests but postpone the real
fray.
The true knights are yearning to enter the lists, and you block
the high festival with your brawling.
Is it possible that you mistake this horse-play for the real event
of history?

¹⁹⁷Whitman: *As I Ponder'd in Silence*, see *Leaves of Grass*, 11-12.

¹⁹⁸Whitman: *Leaves of Grass*, 180.

¹⁹⁹Whitman: *Adieu to a Soldier*, in *Marches Now the War Is Over*, see *Leaves of Grass*, 814.

Away with all your brutal disorder, and clear the field for the tournament of Man."²⁰⁰

So much for the seers, the dreamers, if you wish to call them dreamers.

12. *The prophecy of science.*

Turning now from devotional writers, hymnists, crusaders, knights and poets, let us ask the level-headed men of science what opinion science holds concerning a higher warfare. The scientists are very valuable witnesses indeed. They live close to reality, ever in search of facts. Though they sometimes misinterpret their data, they are ever ready to revise their opinions when an error is pointed out. What have the scientists to say relative to this idea of substituting a higher warfare for physical and military strife?

First, I wish to examine at some length, the views advanced by Professor John Fiske. Fiske was not a scientist in the sense of devoting his life to biology or geology. But he used the data dug out by scientific specialists and interpreted them as a philosopher of scientific habits of thought. In his *Cosmic Philosophy*, and his *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, in various passages, he touches upon the subject of war and struggle.²⁰¹ But it is in his *Studies of Religion* that he most fully sets forth his views on this subject. Early in this volume he shows why there never will be on earth a higher creature than man.²⁰² But we must have his own words: "At length there came a wonderful moment—silent and unnoticed, as are the beginnings of all great revolutions. Silent and unnoticed, even as the day of the Lord which cometh like a thief in the night, there arrived that wonderful moment at which psychical changes began to be of more use than physical changes to the brute ancestor of Man. . . . Henceforth the life of the nascent soul came to be first in importance, and the bodily life became subordinated to it. Henceforth it appeared that, in this direction at least, the process of zoological change had come to an end, and a process of psychological change was to take its place."²⁰³ Thus the Human Soul, "that last consummate specimen of God's handiwork," is the goal of evolution "in all the

²⁰⁰Ernest Crosby: *Democracy*, in his *Broadcast*, 19.

²⁰¹Fiske: *Cosmic Philosophy*, III, 298, 371; *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, 202-3.

²⁰²Fiske: *Studies in Religion*, 15.

²⁰³The same, 16-18.

deadly struggle for existence which has raged throughout countless aeons of time."²⁰⁴

Very slow and painful were the steps by which man climbed up even to his present attainment in spiritual goodness. Says Fiske: "In respect of belligerency the earliest men were doubtless no better than brutes. They were simply the most crafty and formidable among brutes. . . . Struggle for existence . . . meant everlasting slaughter, and the fiercest races of fighters would be just the ones to survive and perpetuate their kind. Those most successful primitive men, from whom civilized peoples are descended, must have excelled in treachery and cruelty. . . . That moral sense which makes it seem wicked to steal and murder was scarcely more developed in them than in tigers and wolves."²⁰⁵ But the struggle to throw off the brute inheritance goes on. Physical strife, little by little, yields place to a higher form of struggle, so that we are far enough along, in scientific observation, to be able to see that gradually physical strife is to be superseded by a higher warfare. To continue in Fiske's words again: "It means the throwing off the brute inheritance,—gradually throwing it off through ages of struggle that are by and by to make struggle needless. Man is slowly passing from a primitive social state in which he is little better than a brute, toward an ultimate social state in which his character shall have become so transformed that nothing of the brute can be detected in it. The ape and tiger in human nature will become extinct. . . . Fresh value is thus added to human life. The modern prophet, employing the methods of science, may again proclaim that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. . . . As regards the significance of Man's position in the universe, this gradual elimination of strife is a fact of utterly unparalleled grandeur. Words cannot do justice to such a fact. It means that the wholesale destruction of life, which has heretofore characterized evolution ever since life began, and through which the higher forms of organic existence have been produced, must presently come to an end in the case of the chief of God's creatures. It means that the universal struggle for existence, having succeeded in bringing forth that consummate product of creative energy, the Human Soul, has done its work and will presently cease. In the lower regions of organic life it must go on, but as a determining factor in the

²⁰⁴The same, 19-20.

²⁰⁵The same, 53-4.

highest work of evolution it will disappear."²⁰⁶ Professor Fiske summarizes his argument thus: "Whereas the earlier stages of human progress have been characterized by a struggle for existence like that through which all lower forms of life have been developed, nevertheless the action of natural selection upon Man is coming to an end, and his future development will be accomplished through the direct adaptation of his wonderfully plastic intelligence to the circumstances in which it is placed. Hence it appears that war and all forms of strife, having ceased to discharge their normal function, and having thus become unnecessary, will slowly die out; that the feelings and habits adapted to ages of strife will ultimately perish from disuse; and that a stage of civilization will be reached in which human sympathy will be all in all."²⁰⁷

We shall have time to examine the testimony of but one other writer on this subject—Henry Drummond, scientist, seer. Drummond follows in the path of Fiske. Speaking of the immense distance man has come, Professor Drummond says: "Between the early cell and the formed body, the ordinary observer sees the uneventful passage of perhaps some score of months. But the evolutionist sees concentrated into these few months the labor and the progress of incalculable ages. Here before him is the entire stretch of time since life first dawned upon the earth; and as he watches the nascent organism climbing up to its maturity he witnesses a spectacle which for strangeness and majesty stands alone in the field of biological research. . . . What he sees is a succession of animal forms, of strange inhuman creatures emerging from a crowd of still stranger and still more inhuman creatures—a vast procession of lower forms of life. . . . The same process of development which once took thousands of years for their consummation are here condensed, foreshortened, concentrated into the space of months. Nature husbands all its gains. A momentum won is never lost."²⁰⁸

Drummond, like Fiske, notes the arrest of the animal body in man, saying: "Anatomy places Man at the head of all other animals that were ever made; but what is infinitely more instructive, with him the series comes to an end. Man is not only the highest branch, but the highest possible branch." (He

²⁰⁶The same, 67, 72.

²⁰⁷The same, 207-8.

²⁰⁸Drummond: *Evolution of Man*, 78-81.

then scientifically and technically shows why this must be so.)²⁰⁹ He next goes somewhat into detail in these words: "Nature is not an interminable succession. It is not always a becoming. Sometimes things arrive." (Drummond gives a most interesting list of divergent forms which have run out the length of their tether and can go no further.) . . . "Now the most certain of all these 'terminal points' in the evolution of Creation is the body of Man. . . . The physical tree of life has here run out. . . . In Man . . . we are confronted with a stupendous crisis in Nature—the arrest of the animal."²¹⁰ Thus Nature does make leaps, from lower to higher,²¹¹ but Nature "seldom parts with any structure she has ever taken the trouble to make. She changes it into something else. She rarely also makes anything new. Her method of creation is to adapt something old."²¹² Hence Drummond concludes that "the animal struggle for life must pass away. And under the stimulus of ideals man will continually press upwards, and find his further evolution in forms of moral, social, and spiritual antagonism."²¹³

We may sum up the testimony of science in a few brief sentences. Organic life has climbed, step by step, from the lowest forms of life, higher and higher, up to more and more refined organisms, lower organs giving place to more complex and higher ones, until, at last, man is reached. At this point physical evolution seems to have reached its goal. But, this attained, a new goal is set. Intellectual and moral purposes now come into view, and we perceive that the universe exists not for physical ends so much as for moral ones. The physical is but the husk, which ensheathes the spiritual. When the fruit is fully formed and ripened, the husk falls away, having fulfilled its function. May we not hope, therefore, in this day when nations are settling their disputes in an international court, that all this great, all-consuming, material system of militarism may soon give place to a warfare more rational, more righteous, more humane, and in every way worthier of men in an economic, industrial, socialized, democratic and ethical age? The scientist's answer to the question as to what shall be done with the war spirit of the world, therefore, is to help on evolution, carrying the race up to higher

²⁰⁹The same, 117 ff.

²¹⁰The same, 114-122.

²¹¹The same, 152.

²¹²The same, 138-9.

²¹³The same, 178.

and nobler things. Hence it is not alone humanitarian, but strictly scientific, to suggest that the time has come for men to give themselves to a higher soldiery.

V—FIGHTING LIKE A GOD.

1. *The new soldiery.*

When the Chicago Peace Congress of 1909 was being organized, a prominent young business man was urged to serve on one of the committees. After the duties had been explained to him he said, with twinkling eyes, "I understand, then, that what you want of me is to 'fight like the devil' for peace." "That's just it," said the organizer. But that *isn't* just it. To fight like a devil for peace means to smite and smash all other things, to "make a desert and call that peace." But how different is the true peacemaking! "My peace I give unto you . . . not as the world gives, give I unto you."²¹⁴ Jesus' idea of peace was the peace of justice, of kindness, of right relations, of loyalty to one's moral ideal. To help to realize such a state of society he was willing to face Calvary. How different is the method, how different the spirit! The world has had enough of "fighting like the devil." It is time to fight like a god.

Have we not discovered, therefore, a solution of the problem with which we started—Given a world of fighting nations, how can a universe which evolves such a state of society be justified, or to what higher use shall we put all this fighting spirit? In place of "soft carpet-knights, all scenting musk and amber,"²¹⁵ and in place of a parasitic, embruted soldiery, consuming the resources and corrupting the morals of mankind, we shall some day see a higher soldiery.

Then shall prevail that higher courage in comparison with which the man-slaying heroism will look cheap and vulgar and unnecessary. Dr. Nitobe tells us that by the Samurai "courage was scarcely deemed worthy to be counted among virtues, unless it was exercised in the cause of Righteousness. . . . To run all kinds of hazards, to jeopard one's self, to rush into the jaws of death—these are too often identified with valour, and in the profession of arms such rashness of conduct—what Shakespeare calls 'valour misbegot'—is unjustly applauded. Death for a cause unworthy of dying for, was called a 'dog's death.' . . . For a

²¹⁴John 14:27.
²¹⁵Du Bartas.

true Samurai to hasten death or to court it, was alike cowardice."²¹⁶ Little by little, men are coming to appreciate the higher courage.

2. *The Good fight.*

In place of the old crusades, with their noise and tinsel and thin veneer of animal valor, prosecuted by self-seeking men burning with a thirst for glory,²¹⁷ in place of crusades waged to place Palestine under so-called "Christian" banners, we shall see real crusading—a crusading to make every land holy, every law just, human society what it ought to be. The passion of the new crusade is the passion to serve and help and construct and to organize justice. Not with the blare of trumpets and the roll of throbbing drums—"those clamorous harbingers of blood and death"—but quietly, earnestly, and with an unfearing and unfaltering self-devotedness to real things, shall the new warfare be waged.

"Every free and generous spirit ought to be born a Knight," exclaimed Milton.²¹⁸ In the ranks of the new soldiery there will be no place for cowards or noisy braggarts, no place for "molly-coddles" or brute bullies. The knight of the new chivalry will "choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin."²¹⁹ While, like Chaucer's Knight, he will be "a veray parfit gentil knight," at the same time he will approximate to the type of Judge William Jay, whom his classmate and intimate friend, Fenimore Cooper, addressed as "Thou most pugnacious man of peace."²²⁰ He will learn what Fenelon vainly attempted to teach the young Duke of Burgundy, namely, to be "a son of valor and to fight the battles of the Lord."²²¹ So, when once the war spirit finds widespread incarnation in chivalrous, serviceable lives, then shall men enlist, like Heine, in "the army for the liberation of humanity;" and find, with General Armstrong, that it is "jolly to be a mounted soldier in the army of the Lord;"²²² or, with Dr. Grenfell, who braves Arctic dangers to carry healing to aching bodies and souls, that it is "jolly good fun." Indeed I suspect that there is so much of the divine in man that no joy but "the joy of the cross" is big enough to satisfy a normal human soul.

²¹⁶Nitobe: *Bushido*, 29-30, 123.

²¹⁷Compare Hallam: *Middle Ages*, II, 577, 578, 581.

²¹⁸See Briggs: *Routine and Ideals*, 200.

²¹⁹Hebrews, 11:25.

²²⁰Tuckerman: *William Jay*, 8.

²²¹St. Cyres: *Fenelon*, 71.

²²²Talbot: *Samuel Chapman Armstrong*, 223.

Therefore, henceforth, since fight we probably shall, it behooves us to "fight the *good* fight," and to "live the life," at whatever cost to ourselves. With such a religious equivalent of war once accepted, our fighting instinct will find an abundant and worthy outlet. While we may not aspire to "an austere military piety,"²²³ we shall be ambitious to deserve Tertullian's encomium, "O Soldier glorious in God!"²²⁴ Preserving the record of the brave of all past ages, and thanking God for the stout-souled heroes who have counted not their lives dear unto themselves,²²⁵ we shall gather up and treasure all this precious legacy of inspiring example, and strive to emulate it, by dedicating ourselves to the higher soldiery and the *good* fight. As John Finley sings:

"Soon, soon will pass the last gray pilgrim through,
Of that thin line in surplices of blue;
Winding as some tired stream asea;
Soon, soon will sound upon our listening ears,
His last song's quaver as he disappears
Beyond our answering litany;
And soon the faint antiphonal refrain
Which memory repeats in sweetened strain,
Will come as from some far cloud shore;
Then for a space the hush of unspoke prayer,
And we who've knelt shall *rise with heart to dare*
The thing in Peace they sang in war."²²⁶

²²³St. Cyres: Fenelon, 8.

²²⁴Tertullian: *Soldier's Crown*; see Grotius: *Rights of War and Peace*, 50.

²²⁵Acts 20:24.

²²⁶President John H. Finley, in *Proceedings of New York Peace Congress*, 1907, 209.

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on
or before the date last stamped below

ISM-1-59-80637

JUL 11 1961

STANFORD LIBRARIES

JX1963
B366

31604





Gaylord
PAMPHLET BINDER
Syracuse, N. Y.
Stockton, Calif.

